

Classicizing Identity: The Alt-Right, Art, and Archaeology

A Senior Thesis

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“Already our ancestors thousands of years ago knew what happens when women are given voting rights and are allowed into parliaments.” If this archaic statement were not prefaced by the assertion that the “Ancient Greeks were pretty woke,”¹ one might mistake it for the opinion of an early twentieth-century anti-suffragist. These quotations, in fact, come from the recently leaked chat messages of Identity Evropa,² a white-nationalist organization designated as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Identity Evropa publicly presents itself as an “identitarian” group whose mission is to advocate for white “identity” and “heritage” through non-violent activism. The internal dynamics of the group, however, reveal the particular strain of virulent racism, misogyny, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism that has come to characterize the alt-right in America.

In addition to providing numerous concrete examples of the hate-filled ideology that pervades Identity Evropa, the leaked chat messages highlight another of the group’s defining characteristics: its manipulation of the classical past in order to intellectualize its reactionary worldview. User Steve-NJ posted “Ancient Greeks were pretty woke” along with a screenshot of

¹ Generally, to be “woke” carries a positive connotation, indicating that one is socially or politically aware of such oppressive structures as racism and sexism, as well as their detrimental effects. In this context, however, the author intentionally misuses the term, suggesting that the ancient Greeks were “woke” for denying women the right to vote and participate in government.

https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=46#message-1814470

² Identity Evropa maintained a central chat server on the platform Discord, a free voice and text chat app marketed primarily towards gamers. The group used this server, disingenuously called “Nice Respectable People Group,” to coordinate their activities nationally. On March 6, 2019, the activist nonprofit Unicorn Riot obtained and published over 240,000 messages from this server in an online database.

a Wikipedia-style entry³ about Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* of 391 BCE (Fig. 1). Where the original entry, itself poorly written, discusses how Aristophanes satirizes the concept of “enforced equality” and the abolition of private property, the user has annotated it with inflammatory commentary. His sarcastic comment “Evil rich men! Down with the patriarchy! Total gender equality!” is meant to draw a parallel between women of the ancient past and feminists today, on the basis of the perceived threat the user believes they pose to men and traditional masculinity. Unsurprisingly, his annotated screenshot was met with approval from other users. Asatru Artist-MD commented, “Sounds about right with the way modern women act,”⁴ to which MrDefault replied, “The modern woman just wears different clothes.”⁵

By claiming that the patriarchy of ancient Greece represents some higher form of social consciousness than do modern progressive and feminist values, the user insinuates that ancient Greek men, Aristophanes included, would support alt-right ideology today. He even positions Identity Evropa and its white male membership as the direct heirs of Western civilization by referring to the ancient Greeks as “our ancestors.” This conflation of past and present works successfully within Identity Evropa to provide pseudo-intellectual justification for its ideology. Even more alarming is that this conflation extends beyond the group’s internal chat server.

³ The user provides no source for the screenshot, but it appears to have been taken from a now-defunct entry for “Assemblywomen” in the online *World Heritage Encyclopedia*, which was quoted in a post on the *Anonymous Conservative* blog on January 12, 2018. Anonymous Conservative, “The Play Assemblywoman By Aristophanes,” *Anonymous Conservative* (blog), January 12, 2018, <https://www.anonymousconservative.com/blog/the-play-assemblywoman-by-aristophanes/>; “Assemblywomen,” *Project Gutenberg*, January 12, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180112212338/http://central.gutenberg.org/articles/assemblywomen>.

⁴ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=46#message-1814472

⁵ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=46#message-1814474

Identity Evropa relies on the misuse of the classical past to recruit new members. The group's propaganda posters, which are posted primarily at colleges and universities, feature classical-looking Greek and Roman statues accompanied by simple slogans about protecting heritage. Although the posters do not incorporate messaging as blatant as that found within the Identity Evropa chat server, their aesthetic is based on the same principle of refashioning and spreading hate with a classicizing twist.

The difference in extremity between Identity Evropa's private chats and its public posters encapsulates the dynamic that the group has actively tried to maintain. Identity Evropa has become one of America's most prolific hate groups while remaining very conscious of optics. Presenting itself as a group of clean-cut, well-dressed young men who merely want to protect their "heritage," Identity Evropa attracts and recruits its desired demographic while outwardly masking the true depths of its ideology. The recently leaked chat messages provide hard evidence to undermine that image thoroughly, but what journalists have addressed less frequently and in less depth is Identity Evropa's obsession with ancient Greece and Rome. Posts such as the screenshot of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* demonstrate just how pervasively Identity Evropa takes superficial inspiration from the classical past for the patriarchal, white-nationalist society it envisions.

Identity Evropa and its propaganda pose a huge concern for archaeologists, classicists, and other students of the ancient world, but even as awareness of Identity Evropa continues to grow within the academic establishment, there is a tendency to dismiss it as just another fringe group. Therefore, this paper aims to make clear the very real dangers that Identity Evropa poses. First, it presents a history of the group from its founding in 2016 to its recent rebranding as the American Identity Movement, when it abandoned classical-looking imagery for Americana.

Next, it analyzes the original repertoire of propaganda posters that use classical-looking imagery, demonstrating how Identity Evropa has drawn from the Nazi practice of glorifying classical sculpture in propaganda. The analysis also addresses how the aesthetic of these posters aligns with the broader goals of Identity Evropa and what the group's recent rebranding adds to our understanding of its poisonous agenda. Most importantly, this paper discusses why students of the classical past must consider Identity Evropa, even in its new manifestation as the American Identity Movement, to be a serious threat. It concludes with measures we can take to counteract the group's misuses of the classical past, measures whose urgency cannot be understated as the alt-right and its media machine continue to grow.

Identity Evropa was founded in March 2016 by Nathan Damigo, then a thirty-year-old ex-Marine. Damigo's story is one of gradual radicalization with ultimately violent consequences. He grew up with deeply conservative and religious parents in San Jose, California, and "he recalls feeling out of place" in his multicultural hometown.⁶ In his senior year of high school, Damigo joined the Marines, completing tours in Iraq in 2005 and 2007.⁷ Damigo began to develop a racialized, nationalistic worldview during his time in the military. He felt more comfortable in the "predominantly white environment of his training class," and he came to believe that the "solution to Iraqi domestic politics" was for each faction to form its own country.⁸

After returning home from his second tour in Iraq, Damigo experienced severe Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which affected his ability to reintegrate into civilian life. In November of 2007, Damigo robbed an Arab cab driver at gunpoint after a night of drinking, and his family reports that an intense, PTSD-related flashback to a vehicle checkpoint in Iraq caused him to assault the driver.⁹ Damigo pleaded guilty to felony robbery in February 2010 and was sentenced to six years in prison, but because of overcrowding in a California facility, he was transferred to one in Oklahoma that was notoriously violent.¹⁰ Damigo used much of his time

⁶ "Nathan Benjamin Damigo," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, accessed April 8, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/nathan-benjamin-damigo>.

⁷ Gabriel Thompson, "My Brother, the White Nationalist," *Pacific Standard*, November 26, 2018, <https://psmag.com/magazine/the-red-pill-my-brother-the-white-nationalist>.

⁸ "Nathan Benjamin Damigo."

⁹ Thompson, "My Brother, the White Nationalist."

¹⁰ Thompson.

there to read. He came across *My Awakening* by the politician and former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan David Duke, his self-described “red-pill” moment.¹¹ Damigo continued to read racist and anti-Semitic literature, which definitively solidified his white-nationalist ideology.

Damigo was released from prison in March 2014. After enrolling in classes at California State University - Stanislaus, he joined and rose through the ranks of the National Youth Front, the youth wing of a white-supremacist group called the American Freedom Party.¹² This was the first time Damigo would undertake a leadership position or deal with public-relations strategy. While he was its director, National Youth Front was threatened with a copyright lawsuit regarding its name, which resulted in Damigo’s rebranding the group.¹³ Thus, Identity Evropa was launched in March of 2016. The group openly advocated for white-nationalist interests, barely cloaking its hate-filled ideology in the language of heritage, identity, and self-determination to reach more mainstream audiences.

Damigo drew heavily from the growing identitarian movement in Europe. Born out of the French New Right, a 1960s far-right faction still active today, identitarianism opposes multiculturalism and emphasizes European identity, in response to increasing non-European

¹¹ Thompson. “Red-pilling” is a reference to a scene in *The Matrix*, in which Morpheus offers Neo a choice between a red pill that will reveal an uncomfortable truth about reality and a blue pill that will return Neo to blissful ignorance. For the alt-right, to be red-pilled means to be conscious of such “truths” as “racial awareness” (the notion that whites are an oppressed class), “race realism” (the idea that people of color are biologically inferior to white people), and “gynocentrism” (the idea that men are a marginalized group).

¹² “Nathan Benjamin Damigo.”

¹³ “Nathan Benjamin Damigo.”

immigration.¹⁴ The movement is youth-led and views cultural change as the precursor to political change. This concept is known as “metapolitics,” recently defined by seminal French New Right thinker Guillaume Faye as the “social diffusion of ideas and cultural values for the sake of provoking a profound, long-term, political transformation.”¹⁵ The now-defunct Identity Evropa website illustrates just how much Damigo was influenced by European identitarianism.

The “About Us” page states that the group’s mission is “to create a better world for people of European heritage by peacefully effecting cultural change.”¹⁶ The FAQ page elaborates further, stating that Identity Evropa is for “European-Americans seeking to restore America” through “peaceful yet visual displays of defiance against mass immigration and globalization.”¹⁷ These displays include banner drops, social media broadcasts, demonstrations, and open-dialogue campaigns on campuses.¹⁸ Although Identity Evropa officially rejects “advocacy of or participation in supremacy, violence, or illegal activity”¹⁹ on its website, the group has never publicly specified how their vision of a white ethnostate would be achieved politically or how white people would “retain demographic supermajorities in [their]

¹⁴ “Identity Evropa,” *Southern Poverty Law Center*, accessed January 11, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropa>.

¹⁵ Guillaume Faye, *Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance*, trans. Michael O’Meara (United Kingdom, 2011) 193.

¹⁶ “About Us,” *Identity Evropa*, March 9, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190309073756/https://www.identityevropa.com/about-us>.

¹⁷ “FAQ,” *Identity Evropa*, March 7, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190307185614/https://www.identityevropa.com/faq>.

¹⁸ “Identity Evropa.”

¹⁹ “FAQ.”

homelands.”²⁰ Additionally, Identity Evropa approves applications only from people of “European, non-Semitic heritage,” although the group never made this explicit on its website.²¹ Accepted members could not have any facial or neck tattoos or piercings, could not be overweight, had to be clean-shaven, and had to present “good moral character.”²²

Early on, journalists and watchdog organizations picked up on Identity Evropa’s two main strategies. The group was subverting identity politics to disguise the racism and anti-Semitism inherent to white nationalism, and it was also cultivating a respectable image to differentiate itself from old-school white supremacists. To build up this image further, Identity Evropa needed to be youthful, and so Nathan Damigo recruited primarily at colleges and universities, marketing the group as a sort of fraternity. Damigo also targeted campuses “because they represent ‘the epicenter of cultural Marxism in America,’” or promote so-called “anti-white” values.²³ Identity Evropa’s combination of activism and social networking was meant to attract young, disaffected, white male students, and its main propaganda campaign was called #ProjectSiege. Launched in September 2016, it aimed to unleash on campuses a barrage of flyers

²⁰ “About Us.”

²¹ Hailey Branson-Potts, “In Diverse California, a Young White Supremacist Seeks to Convert Fellow College Students,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2016, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-nathan-damigo-alt-right-20161115-story.html>.

²² Identity Evropa is not opposed to accepting women as members, but the number of women in the group is probably very small. Ultimately, Identity Evropa considers itself to be a fraternal organization. M. L. Nestel, “Veteran Posts Signs at Colleges Telling Whites to Be ‘Great Again,’” *The Daily Beast*, October 10, 2016, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/10/10/veteran-posts-signs-at-colleges-telling-whites-to-be-great-again>.

²³ “Identity Evropa.”

promoting white heritage, identity, and pride. #ProjectSiege is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

On February 4, 2017, Identity Evropa coined a notorious slogan that would later reappear prominently during the violent Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. The group showed up at the Museum of the Moving Image in New York City, where actor Shia LaBeouf had set up an anti-Trump livestream for a project called “he will not divide us.”²⁴ To the camera, Damigo said “Shia LeBeouf, you will not replace us with your globalism,” and other members began chanting “You will not replace us!” repeatedly.²⁵ The slogan grew popular within the alt-right, since it referred to the “Great Replacement,” the white-nationalist myth that white populations around the world are being replaced (i.e., decimated) as a result of mass immigration encouraged by so-called globalists.²⁶ Despite Identity Evropa’s official rejection of supremacy and violence, it is clear that Damigo and other members stoked the racist animus that eventually contributed to the tragedy in Charlottesville.

Damigo made national headlines on April 15, 2017 in Berkeley, California, at a rally where anti- and pro-Trump protestors clashed. In another premonition of the violence to come,

²⁴ “White Supremacists Adopt New Slogan: ‘You Will Not Replace Us,’” *Anti-Defamation League*, June 9, 2017, <https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacists-adopt-new-slogan-you-will-not-replace-us>.

²⁵ “White Supremacists Adopt New Slogan.”

²⁶ The “Great Replacement” also hinges on falling white birthrates. Conspiracy theorists believe that feminism is the reason white women are not reproducing enough, and they think that the falling birthrate will lead to the eventual extinction of white people. Thus, they perceive both non-white immigration and feminism as existential threats. Nellie Bowles, “‘Replacement Theory,’ a Racist, Sexist Doctrine, Spreads in Far-Right Circles,” *The New York Times*, March 22, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/technology/replacement-theory.html>.

he punched a 95-pound female protestor in the face and fled the scene.²⁷ Damigo quickly rose from relative obscurity and became a viral video sensation, and the alt-right glorified him as a hero for his actions at the rally.²⁸ Identity Evropa applications may have spiked as a result. Damigo boasted a figure of 450 members at this time,²⁹ which reportedly increased to 700 by the end of July.³⁰ A month later, Damigo would play a key role in organizing the Unite the Right rally from August 11 to 12, 2017.

On the first night of the rally, Identity Evropa members joined the white supremacists and neo-Nazis marching with tiki torches, shouting “You will not replace us!” and “Jews will not replace us!” After protests and counter-protestors clashed the next day, the Virginia State Police declared an unlawful assembly. Damigo, one of several protestors who refused to leave, was arrested.³¹ That day, a white supremacist intentionally drove his car into a crowd of counter-protestors, killing Heather Heyer and injuring forty other people.³² The attack and the rally itself

²⁷ Shane Bauer, “I Met the White Nationalist Who ‘Falcon Punched’ a 95-Pound Female Protester,” *Mother Jones*, May 9, 2017, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/05/nathan-damigo-punching-woman-berkeley-white-nationalism/>.

²⁸ Bauer.

²⁹ Bauer.

³⁰ “Identity Evropa.”

³¹ Thompson, “My Brother, the White Nationalist.”

³² The perpetrator was convicted of first-degree murder and other states charges in December 2018. He pleaded guilty to federal hate crime charges in March 2019. He is due for sentencing on all charges in July. Karen Zraick and Julia Jacobs, “Charlottesville Attacker Pleads Guilty to Federal Hate Crime Charges,” *The New York Times*, March 27, 2019, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/27/us/james-alex-fields-charlottesville.html>.

were generally denounced in mainstream media, with the exception of President Trump's infamous assertion that there were "very fine people on both sides."³³

Damigo considered Unite the Right and its national media coverage to be a victory for Identity Evropa and the growing alt-right movement. It was his very inclination towards violence and his willingness to associate with outright neo-Nazis, however, that caused a rift in Identity Evropa leadership. Two weeks after the events in Charlottesville, Damigo resigned from the group, citing his need to finish college and work on family issues.³⁴ He was briefly succeeded by Eli Mosley (whose real name is Elliot Kline), a principal organizer of Unite the Right who was even more radical than Damigo. Mosley joined Identity Evropa after the 2016 presidential election, and he constantly expressed blatant anti-Semitic and misogynistic views through intentionally fabricated stories about his alleged tours in Iraq.³⁵ His lies were not exposed until February 2018, but Mosley stepped down from Identity Evropa on November 27, 2017, for "irreconcilable differences on what the relationship with the rest of the #AltRight should look like."³⁶

Mosley's resignation left a power vacuum that Patrick Casey (also known as Reinhard Wolff) sought to fill. Casey had been a member of Identity Evropa since its founding, and he decided that the group needed to chart a new course after the fallout from Charlottesville. Casey doubled down on the group's commitment to identitarian ideals over those of the alt-right. His

³³ Politico Staff, "Full Text: Trump's Comments on White Supremacists, 'Alt-Left' in Charlottesville," *POLITICO*, August 15, 2017, <http://politi.co/2CL3YrT>.

³⁴ Thompson, "My Brother, the White Nationalist."

³⁵ "Identity Evropa."

³⁶ "Identity Evropa."

assumption of leadership prompted a rebranding of Identity Evropa's mission and public image that tried to steer as far away from Nathan Damigo's violent legacy as possible.

Part of this rebranding strategy involved a stronger push to effect policy change by infiltrating the mainstream conservative establishment. Casey spent much of 2018 trying to realize this goal. Identity Evropa boasted 1,000 members in January of that year and hoped to reach 5,000 by the end of December.³⁷ Casey thus organized the group's first national members-only conference in mid-March, called "Leading Our People Forward 2018."³⁸ At least 100 people attended, all of whom were white; the majority were young men, and the only five women in attendance were all accompanied by boyfriends or male companions.³⁹ Patrick Casey introduced his opening night-speech by thanking Nathan Damigo, who was present in the crowd, for founding Identity Evropa.⁴⁰ Casey's words and Damigo's presence strongly suggest that Identity Evropa had not fully cut ties with Damigo following Charlottesville, as the group publicly claimed to have done.

³⁷ "Identity Evropa."

³⁸ Identity Evropa did not publicize this conference to anyone outside of the group before the event occurred (most of the speeches were recorded for Identity Evropa's YouTube channel, which is publicly viewable). A student named Sam Argyle, who had infiltrated the group in order to research his dissertation, attended the 2018 conference and wrote a short piece about his experience there. Throughout the event, Argyle observed racist, anti-Semitic, and pro-white commentary. Samuel Argyle, "My Weekend with White Nationalists," *The Outline*, June 12, 2018, <https://theoutline.com/post/4907/my-weekend-with-white-nationalists-convention-identity-evropa>.

³⁹ Argyle.

⁴⁰ Argyle.

Most notably, the far-right YouTuber James Allsup gave a speech about transitioning from web-based activism to involvement in the political establishment.⁴¹ He called on members of Identity Evropa to run as Republicans for vacant seats in elected offices such as state representatives, county commissioners, precinct officers, and county party chairs.⁴² Casey later gave a speech titled “American Identitarianism” that stressed the importance of unifying around American identity and values to preserve individual rights.⁴³ The 2018 conference foreshadowed the second major rebranding of Identity Evropa that would occur one year later: a turn towards American over European heritage and a more concerted effort to infiltrate the GOP.

Identity Evropa made headlines on October 17, 2018 when the TODAY Show interviewed Patrick Casey. The segment⁴⁴ was intended to raise awareness about the resurgence of white nationalism, but NBC was widely criticized for giving Identity Evropa a huge platform two weeks ahead of the 2018 midterm elections. Although the TODAY Show framed the interview from a critical perspective, the interviewer allowed Casey’s reactionary viewpoints on race and diversity to go largely unchallenged. Additionally, immigrants of color, the group which would be most harmed by the policies Identity Evropa advocates, were absent from this segment.

⁴¹ Argyle.

⁴² Argyle.

⁴³ Argyle.

⁴⁴ “How White Nationalists Are Trying to Infiltrate Campuses,” *TODAY.com*, October 17, 2018, <https://www.today.com/video/how-white-nationalists-are-trying-to-infiltrate-campuses-1346218563687>.

Libby Watson of Splinter News wrote a scathing article about how irresponsible NBC's coverage was.⁴⁵ She explained that the TODAY Show might have assumed Casey's arguments were poor enough that viewers would find them unconvincing, but because Identity Evropa targets people who are already predisposed to its ideology, the segment basically functioned as a recruitment ad for the group.⁴⁶ Considering that the TODAY Show has around four million viewers every week, the segment exposed more people to Identity Evropa than an entire year's worth of the group's propaganda would have done.⁴⁷ After the segment aired, Casey tweeted that Identity Evropa was being swamped with new applications.⁴⁸

Around the same time as the TODAY Show interview, Patrick Casey attended the Conservative Political Action Committee (CPAC) outside Washington, D.C. CPAC is the largest annual gathering of conservative activists in the United States, and Casey used the event to

⁴⁵ Watson suggested that the most responsible way to report on white-supremacist groups is to focus not on the groups themselves, but on whom the groups hurt. Coverage should also highlight how others have responded, or failed to respond, to the threats posed by white supremacist groups. The TODAY Show missed the mark on both fronts. Libby Watson, "Why Can't the Media Stop Giving White Nationalists a Platform?," *Splinter*, October 17, 2018, <https://splinternews.com/this-is-the-exact-wrong-way-to-cover-the-rise-of-white-1829814250>.

⁴⁶ Watson.

⁴⁷ Eli Rosenberg, "'Swastikas in Gift Wrap': NBC Accused of Helping White-Nationalist Group Sanitize Its Racism," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/arts-entertainment/2018/10/18/swastikas-gift-wrap-today-show-accused-helping-white-nationalist-group-sanitize-its-racism/>.

⁴⁸ <https://twitter.com/PatrickCaseyUSA/status/1052599239765835776>.

spread covertly white nationalist views on immigration and diversity.⁴⁹ He networked with “particularly the younger attendees, college Republican types,” noting the “many great conversations” he had with them.⁵⁰ Casey was building upon the strategy outlined in James Allsup’s speech about increasing Identity Evropa’s involvement in politics. Recruiting young men who will likely pursue careers in politics provides Identity Evropa with a long-term avenue into the political establishment. In an optics move related to this strategy, Casey tweeted a picture of himself at the White House on November 7, 2018.⁵¹ White House Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders stated that Casey was merely on a free tour open to the public,⁵² but other journalists reported that Casey appeared to have access to areas outside the bounds of a normal White House tour.⁵³ Regardless of whether Casey was on a tour or not, his tweet, posted a day after the midterm elections, sent a clear message.

Identity Evropa rang in the new year with a small public-relations crisis, as Nathan Damigo filed for federal bankruptcy protection on January 2, 2019. Damigo and two dozen other alt-right figures are defendants in a federal civil suit, set for trial in July of this year, concerning

⁴⁹ Anna Schechter, “White Nationalist Leader Wants to ‘Take over the GOP,’” *NBC News*, October 17, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/white-nationalist-leader-plotting-take-over-gop-n920826>.

⁵⁰ Schechter.

⁵¹ <https://twitter.com/PatrickCaseyUSA/status/1060254967951486977>.

⁵² Stephanie Kirchgaessner, “Prominent White Nationalist Tweets Picture of His White House Visit,” *The Guardian*, November 8, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/nov/07/prominent-white-nationalist-tweets-picture-of-his-white-house-visit>.

⁵³ Elliot Hannon, “White Nationalist Leader Posts Pictures of Casual White House Visit a Day After Midterms,” *Slate Magazine*, November 8, 2018, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/11/white-nationalist-identity-evropa-patrick-casey-white-house-twitter-pictures.html>.

their role in organizing the Unite the Right rally.⁵⁴ The plaintiffs, who are seeking unspecified damages for economic, emotional, and physical harm, include University of Virginia students and staff, as well as the estate of Heather Heyer.⁵⁵ The Southern Poverty Law Center theorized that Damigo was pre-emptively attempting to protect his assets from being sold off to pay his creditors, namely the plaintiffs.⁵⁶ Identity Evropa tried to control the public-relations damage by creating distance between Nathan Damigo and the group. Sam Harrington, an East Coast-based spokesman for the group, acknowledged Identity Evropa's presence at Unite the Right, but he denied that the event represented the group's membership, either in 2017 or in 2019.⁵⁷

Completely disavowing Nathan Damigo's violent actions, Harrington stressed that members of

⁵⁴ This is the same lawsuit in which the perpetrator of the car attack pleaded guilty to federal hate crime charges in March 2019. Brett Barrouquere, "Nathan Damigo, Founder of White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa, Files for Bankruptcy Protection," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, January 8, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/01/08/nathan-damigo-founder-white-nationalist-group-identity-evropa-files-bankruptcy-protection>.

⁵⁵ Barrouquere, "Nathan Damigo, Founder of White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa, Files for Bankruptcy Protection"; Brett Barrouquere, "This Lawsuit Hopes To Stop Identity Evropa's Founder From Hiding Behind Bankruptcy," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, February 6, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/02/06/lawsuit-hopes-stop-identity-evropas-founder-hiding-behind-bankruptcy>.

⁵⁶ Barrouquere, "Nathan Damigo, Founder of White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa, Files for Bankruptcy Protection." Information about the assets of other individuals in Identity Evropa or of the group as a whole are not publicly available.

⁵⁷ Michael Roberts, "Identity Evropa Defends Against Racism, Neo-Nazi, White Supremacy Charges," *Westword*, January 7, 2019, <https://www.westword.com/news/identity-evropa-defends-against-racism-neo-nazi-white-supremacy-charges-11065294>.

Identity Evropa participate in “peaceful activism and community building nationwide” and are not permitted to advocate for “violence or illegal activity.”⁵⁸ However, the lasting effects of Damigo’s actions on Identity Evropa became harder to control as public awareness of the group and its ideology grew.

On January 30, 2019, ten Charlottesville residents filed suit in federal court to block Damigo’s bankruptcy case from being heard until after the federal civil suit is completed in July. In order to decide whether to grant Damigo asset protection, the bankruptcy court would be forced to hear the details of the Charlottesville case before it occurs, because federal bankruptcy law prohibits debtors “from seeking to discharge debts caused by ‘willful and malicious injury.’”⁵⁹ By filing suit to delay the bankruptcy case, the Charlottesville residents are “eliminat[ing] the risk of the bankruptcy court in California and the civil court in Virginia from [sic] issuing contradictory rulings.”⁶⁰ The multiple lawsuits involving Damigo⁶¹ proved to be a large burden for Identity Evropa and led, in part, to the group’s crumbling in little over a month.

As it became increasingly clear to the public that Identity Evropa could not be separated from the violence of its founder, social media began to take action against the group as well. By early 2019, Identity Evropa had already been banned from Facebook, but Twitter officially suspended the group on January 29, 2019. The suspension, however, applied only to the national

⁵⁸ Roberts.

⁵⁹ Barrouquere, “This Lawsuit Hopes To Stop Identity Evropa’s Founder From Hiding Behind Bankruptcy.”

⁶⁰ Barrouquere.

⁶¹ On February 14, 2019, a California bankruptcy court ruled that Nathan Damigo “cannot avoid liability” under the federal civil suit, “despite his bankruptcy claims.” “The Charlottesville Case,” Integrity First for America, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.integrityfirstforamerica.org/our-work/case/charlottesville-case>.

Identity Evropa account, which was being run by Patrick Casey. Since February 2015, the account had posted mainly photos of fliers, demonstrations, and group meet-ups. It had nearly 30,000 followers at the time of its suspension.⁶² Casey did not attempt to unsuspend the account. After the Twitter suspension, Identity Evropa remained active on the one major platform where it had not yet been banned: YouTube. Casey continued producing a series of podcast-style videos called Identitarian Action, which broached organizational strategizing, activism, and current events. In the videos, he also solicited donations to assist with the legal fees for the civil suit against Nathan Damigo.

Identity Evropa most recently made headlines on March 6, 2019, when the non-profit media organization Unicorn Riot released a massive leak of chat logs from servers used by Identity Evropa. Unicorn Riot set up an online database to publish over 240,000 messages from “Nice Respectable People Group,” the disingenuously named national server on the Discord platform.⁶³ Identity Evropa also used the Slack platform for regional and local coordination of

⁶² The official account is no longer accessible via Twitter, but it still exists on the Internet Archive. The most recent capture of the Twitter account dates to March 16, 2018, at which time Identity Evropa had approximately 28,600 followers. It is reasonable to extrapolate nearly 30,000 followers by January 29, 2019. “IDENTITY EVROPA (@IdentityEvropa),” *Twitter*, March 16, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180316135153/www.twitter.com/IdentityEvropa>.

⁶³ Chris Schiano and Freddy Martinez, “Neo-Nazi Hipsters Identity Evropa Exposed In Discord Chat Leak,” *UNICORN RIOT*, March 6, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/neo-nazi-hipsters-identity-evropa-exposed-in-discord-chat-leak/>.

events like flier campaigns.⁶⁴ Unicorn Riot’s analysis of the messages confirms that despite Patrick Casey’s efforts to turn around Identity Evropa’s public image after Unite the Right, a great number of its members privately continued to hold and express racist, fascist, and anti-Semitic beliefs. Although the group had rules against posting “extremism,” “ethnic chauvinism,” and “vulgar language,” they were not strongly enforced, and even members in Identity Evropa leadership broke them.⁶⁵

The chats also revealed that Identity Evropa leadership was concerned about liability from the civil suit against Nathan Damigo. Patrick Casey stated that Identity Evropa was paying \$2,500 a month for the related legal counsel, and he urged members to donate more money to the group, in addition to the monthly \$10 dues.⁶⁶ The lawsuit clearly hit Identity Evropa harder than it publicly acknowledged, and despite the illusion of distance Identity Evropa attempted to create between itself and its violent founder, the group still quietly supported Nathan Damigo.

Leaked training seminars show that Identity Evropa experimented with new, more elaborate measures to craft its nonviolent public image and messaging further. Identity Evropa member Alex Witoslawski conducted these training seminars through unlisted YouTube videos, sharing rhetorical strategies and tactics to help members sidestep accusations of racism and steer

⁶⁴ Freddy Martinez, Caroline Sindors, and Chris Schiano, “Identity Evropa’s Neo-Nazi Organizing Plans Revealed In New Leaks,” *UNICORN RIOT*, March 8, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/identity-evropas-neo-nazi-organizing-plans-revealed-in-new-leaks/>.

⁶⁵ Schiano and Martinez, “Neo-Nazi Hipsters Identity Evropa Exposed In Discord Chat Leak.”

⁶⁶ Freddy Martinez and Chris Schiano, “Marketing Hate: Inside Identity Evropa’s Neo-Nazi Messaging,” *UNICORN RIOT*, March 14, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/marketing-hate-inside-identity-evropas-neo-nazi-messaging/>.

discussions back to their own talking points.⁶⁷ Witoslawski also recommended disguising the group's long-term goal of a white ethnostate by lobbying for anti-immigrant policy in the short term, which would also build up the group's political capital.⁶⁸ These seminars highlight Identity Evropa's use of more sophisticated training to mainstream white nationalism covertly, but their very necessity also illustrates the group's continued inability to keep its members from publicly expressing outright racist, fascist, and anti-Semitic views. As a result of the leaked chats and seminars, both Discord and Slack banned all users associated with Identity Evropa.

A few days after the leaks, Identity Evropa completely disbanded. Its website was taken down, and all content was removed from its YouTube channel. On March 8, 2019, Patrick Casey simultaneously announced his retirement from Identity Evropa and his leadership of a newly formed organization: the American Identity Movement (AmIM).⁶⁹ The home page of AmIM's website, now emblazoned with patriotic imagery, bears the same layout as Identity Evropa's once did. AmIM describes itself as "a growing, active movement defending our nation against

⁶⁷ Martinez and Schiano, "Marketing Hate." Unlisted YouTube videos do not appear in search results or on the channel of the user who uploaded the video. Instead, only people who know the link to the video can view it, presumably because the user has sent them the link. The link can be sent to anyone, including those who do not have a YouTube account.

⁶⁸ Martinez and Schiano, "Marketing Hate."

⁶⁹ AmIM is not the American Identity Movement's own abbreviation. Unicorn Riot abbreviates the group's name as such in order to avoid confusion with the American Indian Movement (AIM), an indigenous rights group. I will continue to use Unicorn Riot's abbreviation. Chris Schiano, "Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group," UNICORN RIOT, April 11, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/identity-evropa-struggles-to-gain-footing-after-rebranding-as-patriot-group/>.

mass immigration and the scourge of globalism,”⁷⁰ the same two issues that defined Identity Evropa. While AmIM’s principles have expanded to include nationalism, identitarianism, protectionism, non-interventionism, and populism, it still relies on “activism and fraternity” to spread its message and attract new members.⁷¹ Like Identity Evropa, AmIM creates “visual displays of public defiance against our hostile ruling class” to “force [its] ideas into the political realm.”⁷² The new posters, however, feature Americana such as Columbia instead of classical-looking statues. AmIM also officially “rejects political violence, extremism, and supremacism in all of its forms.”⁷³ The biggest differences between the AmIM and Identity Evropa websites are that the former lacks a terminology list present on the latter⁷⁴ and makes no mention of “people of European heritage.”

⁷⁰ “American Identity Movement,” *American Identity Movement*, accessed April 6, 2019,

<https://www.americanidentitymovement.com/>.

⁷¹ “About AIM,” *American Identity Movement*, accessed April 6, 2019,

<https://www.americanidentitymovement.com/about/>.

⁷² “About AIM.”

⁷³ “About AIM.”

⁷⁴ The Identity Evropa website contained a publicly accessible list of terminology with inflammatory definitions. For example, the word decolonization was defined as “originally a call for an end to Western military, economic, and political domination of non-Western peoples in foreign countries that recently evolved to a euphemistic call for the ethnic cleansing of European culture and people within Western nations and their institutional spaces.”

“Terminology,” *Identity Evropa*, February 18, 2018,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180218162258/https://www.identityevropa.com/terminology>.

Both Unicorn Riot and the Southern Poverty Law Center quickly realized⁷⁵ this scheme for what it was: a rebrand of Identity Evropa. While they are entirely right to characterize AmIM as a rebrand, rather than a “new, nationalist organization”⁷⁶ as Casey would have it, they may be wrong to suggest that Identity Evropa cobbled together this new online presence in a matter of days, as a direct response to the chat leaks. Patrick Casey, in his first video posted to the AmIM YouTube channel,⁷⁷ stated that AmIM had already been in the works for about six months before the Unicorn Riot leaks. A post on the AmIM website detailed that the leaks resulted in Casey’s “diminished ability to communicate and formally launch new organizational platforms as planned.”⁷⁸ Although AmIM was ultimately rushed out in the wake of the leaks, the story of its months-long planning aligns with Casey’s long-term goal for Identity Evropa: the surreptitious mainstreaming of white nationalism.

⁷⁵ Hatewatch Staff, “White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa Rebrands Following Private Chat Leaks, Launches ‘American Identity Movement,’” *Southern Poverty Law Center*, March 12, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/03/12/white-nationalist-group-identity-evropa-rebrands-following-private-chat-leaks-launches>; Chris Schiano and Freddy Martinez, “‘Identity Evropa’ Leader Fails To Sneakily Rebrand Neo-Nazi Group,” UNICORN RIOT, March 12, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/identity-evropa-leader-fails-to-sneakily-rebrand-neo-nazi-group/>.

⁷⁶ American Identity Movement, “American Identity Movement Responds to Far-Left SPLC and Cohorts,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), March 15, 2019, <https://www.americanidentitymovement.com/american-identity-movement-responds-to-far-left-splc-and-cohorts/>.

⁷⁷ Patrick Casey on the Launch of AIM!, YouTube (American Identity Movement, 2019), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZXp90yWXtGA>.

⁷⁸ “American Identity Movement Responds to Far-Left SPLC and Cohorts.”

AmIM's new patriotic aesthetic intends to distance the group from both its neo-Nazi chat history and the Unite the Right rally, but whether AmIM will achieve the same following that Identity Evropa had remains to be seen. As of this writing, AmIM's Twitter account reports 5,785 followers,⁷⁹ significantly fewer than Identity Evropa's 30,000. Whereas Identity Evropa's YouTube channel had 6,901 subscribers,⁸⁰ AmIM's channel has just 1,319 as of this writing.⁸¹ Patrick Casey's personal Twitter account, which was never suspended, has around 14,400 followers as of this writing.⁸² Despite the "serious disruptions" to Identity Evropa/AmIM's operations, Unicorn Riot estimates that about 300 members are still involved and active in the group.⁸³ The nonprofit writes that "it remains unclear how long this latest iteration of the alt-right group will last,"⁸⁴ while the Southern Poverty Law Center predicts that members of AmIM "will likely continue on as they have now for years: quietly working to normalize their ideas within the Republican Party."⁸⁵ In Identity Evropa's own words, the group "was never founded to exist just

⁷⁹ "AMERICAN IDENTITY MOVEMENT (@AIM_America)," *Twitter*, accessed May 10, 2019, https://twitter.com/AIM_America.

⁸⁰ "Identity Evropa," *YouTube*, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC8ZmnNg0kKjX2C0NeXsukXg>.

⁸¹ "American Identity Movement," *YouTube*, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzKhB1XzGbWxS2pJHCPG7Bw>.

⁸² "Patrick Casey us (@PatrickCaseyUSA)," *Twitter*, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://twitter.com/patrickcaseyusa>.

⁸³ Schiano, "Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group," April 11, 2019.

⁸⁴ Schiano.

⁸⁵ Hatewatch Staff, "White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa Rebrands Following Private Chat Leaks, Launches 'American Identity Movement.'"

for the Trump campaign, and [it] expect[s] to exist long after Trump.”⁸⁶ Regardless of whether or not Identity Evropa will continue to live on through AmIM, its messaging has activated swathes of the American population sympathetic to white nationalism. In essence, the damage has already been done.

⁸⁶ Roberts, “Identity Evropa Defends Against Racism, Neo-Nazi, White Supremacy Charges.”

Identity Evropa's propaganda poster campaign, also known as #ProjectSiege, was the group's main form of activism. Started by Nathan Damigo, the campaign ran from September 2016 until March 2019, when the group rebranded as the American Identity Movement and changed its overall aesthetic. For nearly three years, Identity Evropa produced a repertoire of five distinct posters that combined close-ups of classical-looking statues with bold, simple slogans. #ProjectSiege was designed to recruit alienated young white men looking to become a part of something larger than themselves. By appealing to classical-looking imagery, Identity Evropa offered its recruits an attractive sense of belonging and pride in what the group presented as white, European heritage.

It is very likely that Nathan Damigo himself designed the posters, since #ProjectSiege began just six months after the founding of the group and the membership base must have been small. All five of the posters are branded by the use of exclusively capital letters for the group name and slogans. White and teal, the colors of the Identity Evropa logo (Fig. 2), are the colors used for the lettering on the posters. Aside from the statues themselves, the "V" in "IDENTITY EVROPA" is the first visual signal of classical-looking imagery. Although Damigo never explicitly stated why he chose to spell "Evropa" with a "v" instead of a "u," his choice clearly evokes an artificial quality of "Roman-ness." All of the posters use high-contrast black-and-white images of statues that have been cropped to show only the heads and faces, but none of the statues looks directly at the viewer.

Perhaps the best known of the posters is the one that features Michelangelo's famous statue of David and the slogan "Let's Become Great Again" (Fig. 3), clearly referring to President Trump's "Make America Great Again" campaign slogan. The figure of David is shown from the head to just below the collarbone, and its left hand, which holds an object obscured by

the slogan, is barely in the frame. The head is in profile and turned to the viewer's right, eyes gazing into the distance. The furrowed brow, taut lips, and strong jaw line produce a stern, determined expression, and the streaks of discoloration on the cheek make the statue appear to weep. As is clear from this discoloration, as well as the brick background, the image in the poster is actually the replica of the David that has stood since 1910 in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence, Italy.

The original statue of David,⁸⁷ carved in marble by Michelangelo between 1501 and 1504, is currently held in the Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze in Florence, Italy (Fig. 4).⁸⁸ At almost three times life-size, the David is "the first freestanding colossal of a nude figure to be made since antiquity."⁸⁹ Michelangelo depicts David at the moment he prepares to fight Goliath, and although in the Bible David is a young boy, the artist renders him as an athletic adolescent.⁹⁰ Identity Evropa's choice of Michelangelo's David is significant because young men and adolescents is the group's target demographic. James Hall enumerates the features of the erotic charge with which Michelangelo imbued the statue: full nudity, chiseled muscles, erect nipples, and a part of a tree that grasps at the statue's right leg and thigh.⁹¹ Compared to the photograph of the replica that Identity Evropa pictured, the original David's face is softer, boyish, and more

⁸⁷ Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze 1076.

⁸⁸ James Hall, "Giants," in *Michelangelo and the Reinvention of the Human Body* (New York, 2005) 38.

⁸⁹ Hall, 38.

⁹⁰ Hall, 52.

⁹¹ Hall, 53. Hall also makes clear that the statue of David can be read as an expression of male homosexual beauty. Identity Evropa, however, is unlikely to read the statue in this manner. Although it is a fraternal organization, its members are largely homophobic, and they strongly adhere to traditional gender roles. The group's homophobia likely contributed to its use of close-ups, as opposed to full body shots, in the posters.

sensual. While Michelangelo highlights David in a moment of physical vulnerability, Identity Evropa reduces David to a state of readiness for the impending fight by focusing on his head and face.

A second poster features the Belvedere Apollo and the slogan “Our Future Belongs to Us” (Fig. 5). Again, Identity Evropa shows the statue from the head to just below the collarbone, and the head is in profile, turned to the viewer’s right. A mantle is draped across the upper chest and shoulders, and the top of a quiver filled with arrows is visible behind the statue’s right shoulder. The statue’s eyes, nose, and lips are clearly defined, but its expression is less tense than that of the David, practically emotionless. The statue, like the David, gazes out into the distance.

The Belvedere Apollo is housed in the Pio Clementino Museum,⁹² one of the Vatican museums. The marble statue was long thought to be either a Greek work or, since the end of the nineteenth century, a Roman copy of a Greek bronze original cast by the artist Leochares in the late fourth century BCE (Fig. 6).⁹³ The Belvedere Apollo is now considered to be an original Roman creation of the early second century CE.⁹⁴ The artist renders the god heroically nude, save for the sandals and mantle, and Apollo steps forward lightly while directing his eyes away from the viewer. His mantle is draped over his outstretched left arm. In his left hand, it is likely that he once held arrows, one of his frequent visual attributes.⁹⁵ Apollo is a complex deity whose

⁹² Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino 1015.

⁹³ Gordon Campbell, ed., “Apollo Belvedere,” *The Grove Encyclopedia of Classical Art and Architecture* (Oxford, 2007), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195300826.001.0001/acref-9780195300826-e-0089>.

⁹⁴ Campbell.

⁹⁵ Campbell.

spheres of influence also include music, healing, prophecy, and archery. Identity Evropa's focus on the head, with the mantle and the quiver barely visible behind the shoulder, reduces Apollo to the single attribute of archer or hunter. By 1509, the statue was held in the Vatican, and it has been widely renowned as a masterpiece: "from the moment of its discovery the Apollo was celebrated as one of the finest of ancient Greek statues."⁹⁶ By selecting the Belvedere Apollo, Identity Evropa plays up this distinction, but the recent Roman attribution may have diminished the statue's art-historical status among experts.

A third poster features a statue of Hercules, the quintessential hero and demi-god of Greek mythology, and the slogan "Protect Your Heritage" (Fig. 7). Identity Evropa shows the statue from the head down to the pectorals, although the nipple is partially blotted out by the "R" in "EVROPA." The head is in profile, this time turned to the viewer's left. Unlike the David and the Belvedere Apollo, the statue of Hercules appears to have been photographed from a slight angle below the chin. This angle exaggerates the thickness of the neck and the fleshiness of the pectorals, and it causes the statue to appear as if it is staring at someone or something intently. The eyes that seem to be looking slightly upward, the pursed lips, and the sharp nose lend him an almost insolent expression. Ben Davis, a web-only national art critic,⁹⁷ has shown that Identity

⁹⁶ Campbell. In 1798, the statue was transferred to Paris in consequence of the Treaty of Tolentino, and it was returned to the Vatican in 1816 after Napoleon's reign through the diplomatic efforts of sculptor Antonio Canova.

⁹⁷ In March 2019, Harvard University's Nieman Journalism Lab recognized Ben Davis as one of the five most influential art critics in the United States, on the basis of a survey of more than 300 journalists. Davis is "known for trying to make sense of the more image-driven arts writing of the internet era, what he calls 'post-descriptive' criticism." Mary Louise Schumacher, "Visual Arts Journalism: Newsroom Pressure and Generational Change," *Nieman Foundation*, March 4, 2019, <https://nieman.harvard.edu/articles/visual-arts-journalism-newsroom-pressure-and-generational-change/>.

Evropa took the image of the statue from Flickr, and that the original photographer had no idea the group was using his work for its posters.⁹⁸

The statue appears to be the Youthful Hercules on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 8).⁹⁹ This over-life-sized Roman marble statue is dated between 69 and 96 CE, and it is associated with another statue of an older, bearded Hercules.¹⁰⁰ Both statues are “variants of long-established types” dating back to fourth-century BCE Greece, and they may have decorated the interior of the public baths built by Nero in 62 CE.¹⁰¹ The artist renders Hercules heroically nude, with large, bulky muscles. The demi-god holds his characteristic club in his right hand, behind his body. His lion-skin, another one of his typical attributes, is draped over his left arm. The statue’s expression, when viewed straight-on, appears less arrogant than it does in the Identity Evropa poster, and the casual manner in which the statue grips the club speaks to how quickly Hercules could resort to violence if he wanted. By omitting the club and focusing on the head, Identity Evropa depicts Hercules as quietly standing his ground against an unseen opponent. It is also significant that Identity Evropa chose a youthful statue. Although an older, bearded one would be more easily recognizable as Hercules in the absence of the club in the close-up, the Youthful Hercules aligns more directly with the group’s target demographic.

⁹⁸ Ben Davis, “White Nationalism’s New Love of Art History, Decoded,” *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.

⁹⁹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 03.12.13.

¹⁰⁰ Carlos A. Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece, Cyprus, Etruria, Rome* (New York, 2007) 494.

¹⁰¹ Picón et al., 494.

A fourth poster features a statue of Julius Caesar by Nicolas Coustou¹⁰² and the slogan “Serve Your People” (Fig. 9). Similar to the poster of Hercules, this statue appears to have been photographed from a point below the chin, but the effect is much more dramatic. From this angle, Identity Evropa shows the statue from the head down to the chest, and its right arm and shoulder are in the frame. Caesar wears a laurel crown on his head and a mantle draped over his shoulder and cuirass. He looks over his right shoulder slightly to the viewer’s left, and his body twists quite strongly. His furrowed brow, flared nostrils, tightly drawn lips, and deep naso-labial lines give Caesar an air of authority. This quality is emphasized by the dramatic angle that causes the viewer to look up to Caesar, as if in deference to him.

Coustou’s marble statue was one of several commissioned in 1696 for the Versailles gardens (Fig. 10).¹⁰³ It was moved to the Tuileries gardens in 1722¹⁰⁴ and ultimately to the Louvre Museum in 1872.¹⁰⁵ Caesar wears richly decorated armor, partially covered by a mantle that wraps around his legs and waist. In his right hand, he holds a baton and points it downward to his left in a commanding manner. François Souchal writes that Coustou’s choice of costume is in fact anachronistic, and that it is more similar to equipment of the time of later emperors.¹⁰⁶ Coustou, however, wanted to depict Caesar as a victorious Roman general and capture “the

¹⁰² Paris, Musée du Louvre 1798.

¹⁰³ François Souchal, *Les frères Coustou: Nicolas (1658-1733), Guillaume (1677-1746), et l’évolution de la sculpture française du Dôme des Invalides aux Chevaux de Marly* (Paris, 1980) 249.

¹⁰⁴ Souchal, 249.

¹⁰⁵ “Nicolas COUSTOU,” *Atlas Database*, accessed April 16, 2019, http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=766&langue=en.

¹⁰⁶ Souchal, *Les frères Coustou*, 110.

brutal will of the warrior, man of war and statesman.”¹⁰⁷ Aside from the anachronistic military garb, Caesar’s “vigorous” facial features express a “masculine determination”¹⁰⁸ that adds to Coustou’s vision. Coustou has already reduced Caesar to the single attribute of authoritative leader, and by focusing on the statue’s head and face, Identity Evropa plays up that quality even further.¹⁰⁹

A fifth poster features a statue of an androgynous figure with the slogan “Our Destiny is Ours” (Fig. 11). The statue is shown from the head down to the upper chest, and it appears to be clothed in a dress or a robe. An unidentifiable object is barely visible behind the right shoulder. The statue’s eyes and head are turned toward the sky. Similar to the poster of the David, streaks of discoloration on the angel’s cheeks make the statue appear to weep. This weeping effect, as well as the searching eyes and upturned head, produces an insistent, pleading expression, as if the angel is hopeful that it may be spared from some impending bad fate.

As Ben Davis found out, the statue is a bronze funerary figure on an angel (Fig. 12) located in the historic, eighteenth-century Old Cemetery in Saarlouis, Germany.¹¹⁰ A full-length

¹⁰⁷ “[L]a volonté brutale du guerrier, homme de guerre et homme d’État.” Souchal, 110-111.

¹⁰⁸ “Le visage, aux traits énergiques, exprime une mâle détermination.” Souchal, 110.

¹⁰⁹ Julius Caesar occupies a place in the alt-right cultural imaginary as an authoritarian populist. An Identity Evropa member posted a meme in the Discord server in which two men heatedly argue about Caesar’s merits, or lack thereof. The first man states that Caesar was a “power-hungry tyrant who bribed, murdered, and conquered his way to the top,” while the other states that Caesar was a reformer who “saw Supreme Power [sic] as a tool to better Society [sic], not to benefit himself.” The latter perspective seems to be more common among members of the alt-right. https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=14#message-1830445

¹¹⁰ It is unclear who made the figure or exactly when the figure was made. “Saarlouis: Alte Friedhof,” *Saarlouis*, accessed April 16, 2019, <https://www.saarlouis.de/freizeit/fuehrungen/alter-friedhof/>.

photograph shows that she wears a long dress belted at the waist, and that she clutches part of an overlying mantle in her left hand. Her left arm rests on a column, while she holds a palm frond in her right hand. Her gaze is directed upward, and the wings on her back are clearly visible. Davis also discovered that the figure is used on the CD cover of the United Classics edition of Mozart's *Requiem* (Fig. 13).¹¹¹ Both the poster and the CD cover feature the figure from the same angle and with the same blurred background. They are similar enough to suggest that Identity Evropa took the image from this CD cover and edited out the identifying information from United Classics. Identity Evropa also cropped out the angel's left wing, lengthened and narrowed her face, and flattened her chest. These edits render the figure androgynous and intensify its pleading expression.

Identity Evropa's own choice of imagery readily, yet ironically, betrays the art-historical superficiality of the posters. Three of the five statues, though they may appear classical-looking to the viewer, are not even ancient. Identity Evropa also chose an image of the twentieth-century replica of the statue of David, rather than the Renaissance original by Michelangelo. Despite the group's refusal to admit applicants of "Semitic heritage," the angel of Saarlouis comes from a cemetery that is quite well known for its Jewish section.¹¹² As Ben Davis states, Identity Evropa's cherry-picking of art history may be merely "militant ignorance masquerading as tradition."¹¹³ After all, Identity Evropa probably came across these five images on the Internet,

¹¹¹ Davis, "White Nationalism's New Love of Art History, Decoded."

¹¹² The funerary figure itself, however, is clearly not a Jewish funerary monument. Davis, "White Nationalism's New Love of Art History, Decoded."

¹¹³ Davis.

and the group is unlikely to have consulted any scholarly sources beyond the occasional online museum label or encyclopedia article.

Identity Evropa's superficial choice of imagery, however, may not be a careless error, as Davis suggests, but an ideological decision. Clearly, the group did not choose these five statues for anything they inherently are or represent; Identity Evropa chose them simply because they look like what the group wanted to represent. There is meaning to be found in the color of the posters, the age, gender, and facial expressions of the statues, and the way in which the statues were cropped.

Identity Evropa opted to use high-contrast black-and-white images of the statues. The resultant cool tones in the images are accentuated by the white and teal lettering, the same colors as the group's logo. These decisions were most likely made to neutralize the warm tones in the four marble statues¹¹⁴ and to drain the bronze statue of its colors. Identity Evropa thereby plays to erroneous, centuries-long popular belief that classical marble statues were always pure white. By emphasizing the purported whiteness of the statues on its posters, the group asserts that the statues, and by extension, the artists who created them, are racially white. With the exception of the Saarlouis angel, which is edited to appear androgynous, all Identity Evropa posters feature powerful males: heroes, gods, and leaders. Additionally, the group consciously chose young-looking statues of adolescents and beardless men. In association with the imagery, Identity

¹¹⁴ Not all marble has a natural warm tone. The color of marble varies widely when photographed, depending on conditions such as lighting. Identity Evropa likely sourced the images on its posters from museum websites or other image-sharing sites, where photographs of marble statues tend to emphasize any warm tones or other pigmentation present.

Evropa's use of the personal pronoun "us" and the possessive pronoun "our" in its slogans obviously refers to both the group itself and its target demographic: young white men.

By focusing on the faces over the entire bodies, the extreme close-ups used on all five posters reduce each complex subject to a simple state of readiness: these gods, heroes, and leaders¹¹⁵ are pictured in thought, on the verge of taking action. David contemplates his fight with Goliath before throwing his sling. Apollo prepares to draw his bow against a target during a hunt. Hercules stands his ground against an opponent, containing his physical power for the moment. Caesar is poised to draw his baton and command his soldiers. The de-sexed Saarlouis angel, the odd one out, looks as if it may fall to its knees. For Identity Evropa, being a fighter or a leader rests on exercising restraint and embodying the ascetic virtues of rationality and resilience. This concept, as expressed through the statues on the posters, reflects how Identity Evropa sees itself as an organization. It considers itself to be a fraternal group that speaks out for "pro-white" interests without resorting to violence, although the potential for violence remains.

The facial expressions of the statues function similarly. Enhanced by the use of stark black-and-white, the expressions evoke a mix of qualities that seem to describe Identity Evropa's conception of its members themselves: determined, proud, insistent, authoritative, and sometimes emotionless. All five statues gaze out into the distance away from the viewer, suggesting that their expressions are directed at an unseen foe or unidentified goal. The David and the angel, which appear to weep, add a sense of urgency that a great loss may be imminent. Metaphorically, these statues are looking to the future, or into it.

¹¹⁵ David, Hercules, and Caesar are united by their claim to fame as fighters. Apollo and the angel appear to be the odd ones out.

Through its posters, Identity Evropa establishes a lineage that connects its putatively deracinated target demographic to a mythical stock of great European forebears. This lineage bundles up resilience, measured strength, virtuous beauty, authority, and Western classical tradition into a neat but utterly superficial notion of “white, European heritage.” Identity Evropa expects that alienated young white men will identify with these forebears through the statues, “rediscover” their so-called “heritage,” and rally to redress its presumed loss. The posters are meant to mobilize potential recruits who already have a sense of the task Identity Evropa lays before them: regaining an inheritance from which they believe they have been dispossessed.¹¹⁶

The statues chosen by Identity Evropa underscore the group’s message about who exactly can claim this white, European heritage. As shown by the group’s internal discourse, Identity Evropa members believe that northern and western Europeans, broadly speaking, are the true heirs of ancient Greece and Rome.¹¹⁷ Southern and eastern Europeans, particularly Greeks and Italians, are excluded from this legacy on the basis of crude misunderstandings of race, genetics, and migration.¹¹⁸ Several users of the Identity Evropa Discord servers questioned whether

¹¹⁶ Identity Evropa is not the only alt-right entity to have considered white European heritage in genealogical terms. In his essay “The European Revolution,” blogger and YouTuber Ryan Faulk writes that the “revolutionary” state of being European consists of free speech, private property, and “consistent law free from clannish sentimentalism.” He considers these aspects of “modern civilization” to be the “genetic inheritance” of white Europeans. Identity Evropa takes a more figurative approach with its posters, but both Faulk and the group promote a sense of entitlement among young white men. Ryan Faulk, “The European Revolution,” in George T. Shaw, ed., *A Fair Hearing: The Alt-Right in the Words of Its Members and Leaders*, (Budapest, 2018) 173.

¹¹⁷ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=10#message-1832497

¹¹⁸ The contention that southern and eastern Europeans are “inferior races” is not unique to Identity Evropa. It has deep historical roots that can be traced back to the notorious Arthur de Gobineau, a nineteenth-century French

modern Greeks and Italians should be categorized as racially “white” because of genetic admixture from non-white Middle Eastern and North African populations, harmfully equating non-white status with inferiority.¹¹⁹ These users went on to suggest that ancient Greeks and Romans would bear no physical resemblance to modern Greeks and Italians, because the ancient populations were ethnically purer and essentially “white.”¹²⁰ In other threads, some users commented that the bullying of “meds,” or people of Mediterranean heritage, is merely joking banter,¹²¹ but that explanation is just as superficial as the imagery on Identity Evropa’s posters.

It is clear, then, that while it may produce several insights into the group, Identity Evropa’s understanding of art history, which Ben Davis has shown to be rubbish, is in some degree beside the point entirely. If the group does not consider modern Greeks and Italians to be white, then featuring archaeological materials to which Greece and Italy lay claim as their national patrimony would actually counteract the concept of white, European heritage that the

aristocrat and early proponent of scientific racism whose ideas on race-mixing and the decline of civilization would later influence Nazi leadership. The alt-right’s belief in the “Great Replacement” also echoes Gobineau’s sinister racial theories. For Gobineau’s most infamous work, see: Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York, 1915). For a general study of Gobineau’s thought and a deeper discussion of his book and its legacy, see: Michael D. Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology: The Social and Political Thought of Count Gobineau* (New York, 1970).

¹¹⁹ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/315?per_page=250&page=10#message-1412126;
https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=18#message-1828664

¹²⁰ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/315?per_page=250&page=10#message-1412126;
https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/284?per_page=250&page=1158#message-1298902;
https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=837#message-1420220

¹²¹ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=18#message-1828422

group is trying to construct through its posters. The five statues appear to depict ancient Greeks and Romans, but most of them were created more recently in northern or western Europe. With the exception of the David and the Belvedere Apollo, none of the statues is currently housed in Greek or Italian museums. The posters present a Roman Apollo kept in the Vatican, a Roman variant of a Greek Hercules kept in an American museum, a Renaissance David,¹²² a French Caesar, and a German angel. Out of this art-historical *mélange*, Identity Evropa transforms the statues into the narrow, nefarious sort of white, European heritage it promotes. For the group, the classical legacy of the ancient Greeks and Romans belongs to men of northern and western European descent because of their alleged racial superiority.

Of course, viewers of the posters would not be able to tell from the images alone who the original artists were or in what museums the statues are housed. Although a potential recruit might not know that none of these statues is truly classical, what matters to Identity Evropa is not whether the posters are art-historically accurate, but whether they are effective in recruiting new members. Identity Evropa does not attempt to turn non-racists into racists; the group wants to reach young white men who already espouse or are inclined toward the ideology of white nationalism. What is significant about the posters, then, is that despite being an art-historical *mélange*, they convincingly look the part Identity Evropa wants them to play. Through the five statues,¹²³ Identity Evropa consciously constructs a seductive yet erroneous image of ethnically pure ancient Greeks and Romans that resonates with the group's target demographic.

¹²² As demonstrated by previously cited Discord threads, Identity Evropa members view the Renaissance as a cultural zenith that modern, “nonwhite” Italy has never been able to achieve again.

¹²³ As noted previously, the Saarlouis angel is made of bronze, but on the Identity Evropa poster, the high-contrast black-and-white image makes it difficult for the viewer to tell that it is made of anything other than marble or stone.

Nathan Damigo himself was interviewed in February 2017 for a short piece in which he described some of the motivations behind the #ProjectSiege poster campaign. His answer as to why Identity Evropa puts up posters on college campuses is worth quoting in full:

The first thing we want [is] to gain a lot of name recognition among students. It's something corporations spend trillions collectively on every year. Over the coming years many of them are going to learn narratives that are being propagated on college campuses aren't accurate. We want them to know us when they're ready to fight back and challenge this narrative.

The second thing is the messages on the flyers are messages of empowerment for people of European heritage, who have been told they don't have a right to a place of their own, that their people have done something so horribly wrong that they must replace themselves with foreigners. And that they themselves may not have under any circumstances a right to a positive identity and an identity worth defending. We fundamentally disagree with that narrative. We think it's horrifically anti-white, we think it's very misleading. It's not going to make America a better place, it's not going to make Europe a better place.¹²⁴

Without explicitly naming them, Damigo spins cultural studies, post-colonial theory, and other related academic fields as promoters of “anti-white” narratives that destroy white identity. He even implicitly claims that such fields push white students into accepting the self-destructive consequences of the so-called “Great Replacement.”¹²⁵ Damigo essentially admits to instigating a long-term cultural war through #ProjectSiege, in which the posters take up physical space so that Identity Evropa creeps into students' heads. By trying to reach students who are “ready to fight back” against “anti-white” narratives, Damigo clearly indicates that Identity Evropa targets students who are already inclined toward white nationalism, and that the group counts on the posters to influence these students through the subtle building of “name recognition.”

¹²⁴ Harry Shukman, “Meet the Neo-Nazi Coming to Put up White Pride Posters on Your Campus,” *The Tab US*, February 15, 2017, <https://thetab.com/us/2017/02/15/nathan-damigo-identity-evropa-60697>.

¹²⁵ See above, footnote 26 for a discussion of the “Great Replacement” theory.

Damigo's insistence that the posters are empowering for "people of European heritage" relates to the qualities of resilience, measured strength, virtuous beauty, authority, and Western classical tradition outlined earlier in this chapter. The statues in the posters become proxies for these qualities, and the notion of virtuous beauty is worth drawing out in particular. When asked why so many Identity Evropa members sport similar haircuts, Damigo responded:

We do like to look sharp. We like to paint a picture of a better world, a more aesthetic world. We live in a world where the prevailing ideology are [sic] promoting a very unaesthetic world. Maybe the best way to put it is anti-art, the opposite of beauty. They want to promote ugliness.¹²⁶

The haircut in question has become known as the "fashy" (as in "fascist") haircut: long on the top and short or closely shaved on the sides (Fig. 14). Also known as the "high and tight," it was popular among millennial men as early as 2011,¹²⁷ years before Richard Spencer, the avowed white-nationalist who coined the term "alt-right," would famously adopt the haircut and turn it into an alt-right cultural icon. Ultimately, the "fashy" haircut is part of the alt-right's broader strategy to blend into the mainstream by co-opting style and culture.¹²⁸ When Damigo mentions

¹²⁶ Shukman, "Meet the Neo-Nazi Coming to Put up White Pride Posters on Your Campus."

¹²⁷ Incidentally, many men thought it was edgy to refer to the cut as a "Hitler Youth" in 2011. Alexander Abad-Santos, "How to Ask for a 'Hitler Youth' Haircut," *The Atlantic*, November 17, 2011, <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2011/11/how-ask-hitler-youth-haircut/335359/>.

¹²⁸ The haircut has become popular enough that people will likely question "hipster or fascist?" when they see someone sporting it. Identity Evropa, and the alt-right in general, strengthen themselves by sowing this kind of uncertainty. The strategy is very similar to that of Identity Evropa's posters: transforming styles or images that are inherently harmless into harmful ones. Monica Hesse and Dan Zak, "Does This Haircut Make Me Look like a Nazi?," *Washington Post*, November 30, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2016/11/30/does-this-haircut-make-me-look-like-a-nazi/?utm_term=.488b11767149.

looking “sharp,” he is referring to the way that Identity Evropa attempts to distance itself from the stereotypical image of white nationalists and neo-Nazis by sporting a clean-cut, well-dressed, and nearly mainstream look.

There is, however, a deeper connection between race, art, and beauty that runs through both the group’s self-presentation and its posters. Together, they futurize the construct of the ideal white male body. It is extremely telling that Damigo uses the metaphor “paint[ing] a picture of a better world.” He hints at Identity Evropa’s ultimate goal of creating a white ethnostate by implicitly racializing the ideal body: Damigo equates whiteness with beauty and virtue, and nonwhiteness with ugliness and lack of virtue. Thus, Identity Evropa’s self-presentation and posters reflect not only the racialized aesthetic of the group in the present, but also that of the future world the group wants to bring about. Heritage, as conceptualized by Identity Evropa, is not solely something rooted in the past and in need of preservation or remembrance today. It doubles as a political tool to realize a reactionary vision of the future by locating the ideal model for that future in an imagined past.

It is not a coincidence that the aesthetic of #ProjectSiege and Identity Evropa seems eerily similar to that of Nazi propaganda. The restricted notion of white European heritage asserted by the group and its posters, the similarity in meaning of Nathan Damigo’s term “anti-art” to the Nazi term “degenerate art,”¹²⁹ and the anti-Semitism inherent in Identity Evropa itself all connect

¹²⁹ Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau traces the history of the term “degenerate art” from its inception in the eighteenth-century, to its historical association with mental illness, to its specific use by the Nazis. Any art that “insulted German sentiment,” displayed a lack of “artistic skill,” or was too abstract was considered to be degenerate. Modern art often received that label, and it was either rejected or destroyed. Modern artists were thought to be medically sick and a risk to Germany’s “racial hygiene.” Degenerate art was thus perceived as an “intellectually contagious

the group and its posters to Nazi ideology. As discussed in the previous chapter, Identity Evropa has tried to distance itself from Damigo and any association with neo-Nazis, especially after the violence of Charlottesville, but the closest historical analogue to #ProjectSiege does in fact come from Nazi Germany.

Adolf Hitler himself was fascinated with Classical archaeology. He was convinced that the Aryan race had reached its past zenith only in the Mediterranean climate of Greece and Italy, an absurd belief that underlay his fascination with the discipline.¹³⁰ Hitler considered the ways of the early Germanic tribes to have been primitive and barbaric, and he blamed the cold, wet climate of European forests for inhibiting the full potential of the Aryan spirit.¹³¹ During one of his private table-talks to friends and party officials in 1942, he even remarked that while the Germanic tribes were making “vessels of stone and clay, over which [German] archaeologists rave[d], the Greeks had already built an Acropolis.”¹³² Hitler’s glorification of ancient Greece and Rome carried over to Nazi propaganda when he personally asked Leni Riefenstahl, who had already directed two

disease,” much like Identity Evropa perceives college campuses as places where “anti-white narratives” spread like wildfire. Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, “Crazy at Any Price: The Pathologizing of Modernism in the Run-Up to the ‘Entartete Kunst’ Exhibition in Munich in 1937,” in Olaf Peters, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937*, (Munich, 2014) 36–51; for more information on how the Nazi discourse of degenerate art eventually led to the state's extermination policies, see: Olaf Peters, “Genesis, Conception, and Consequences: The ‘Entartete Kunst’ Exhibition in Munich in 1937,” in the same volume, 106–125.

¹³⁰ Heather Anne Pringle, *The Master Plan: Himmler’s Scholars and The Holocaust* (New York, 2006) 44.

¹³¹ Pringle, 44–45.

¹³² Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s Table Talk 1941-1944: Secret Conversations*, ed. H. R. Trevor-Roper, trans. Norman Cameron and R.H. Stevens (third ed.; New York, 2008) 426.

Nazi party rally films, to film the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin.¹³³ Although he disagreed with the concept of international unity espoused by the Games, he recognized the propagandistic importance of presenting Nazi Germany as a “peace-loving, modern, and open country by means of the perfect staging of all the Olympic events.”¹³⁴

Riefenstahl’s first *Olympia* film¹³⁵ is quite possibly the strongest visual precursor to Identity Evropa’s co-option of classical-looking statues. The sports coverage is preceded by a twenty-four-minute-long black-and-white opening sequence in which she manipulates archaeological images. Riefenstahl intentionally decontextualizes ancient Greek artifacts and sites to fabricate and emphasize a historical link between Nazi Germany and Classical Greece. This decontextualization bears striking similarity to the way in which Identity Evropa depicts classical-looking statues on its posters. Riefenstahl, like Identity Evropa, also relies on the metaphorical transformation of stone to flesh, or of imagined past to reactionary future.

Olympia I begins with a title slide that shows “OLYMPIA” carved into stone in letter forms that suggest ancient Roman inscriptions (Fig. 15). This choice of font is similar to how Identity Evropa spells its name with a “v” in order to appear more “Roman.” Another title slide dedicates the Games “to the honor and glory of the youth of the world,” suggesting a similar

¹³³ Riefenstahl’s *Olympia* films provide the best-known official sports coverage of the 1936 Games, but they are undoubtedly pieces of Nazi propaganda. Joseph Goebbels signed a contract with Riefenstahl that confirmed her full funding from the Propaganda Ministry. Taylor Downing, *Olympia* (second ed.; BFI Film Classics; London, 2012) 40-41.

¹³⁴ Jürgen Trimborn, *Leni Riefenstahl: A Life*, trans. Edna McCown (New York, 2007) 131–132.

¹³⁵ Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.

target audience to that of the Identity Evropa posters. Soon after, a dreamy montage of the empty ruins on the Acropolis in Athens, Greece unfolds before the viewer's eyes. The viewer enters the Acropolis and sees a three-quarters view of the Parthenon (Fig. 16). Riefenstahl's choice of Athens over Olympia, the site where the ancient Olympic Games were actually held,¹³⁶ indicates that the opening sequence was not meant to be a historical representation of the ancient Games.

As the quintessential example of an ancient Greek temple, the Parthenon evokes for domestic and international audiences an easily recognizable image, however inaccurate, of an idyllic and peaceful ancient Greek past. In the opening sequence, Riefenstahl represents not the first Olympic Games, but a generic classical past set in Athens, which aligned with the way the Nazis endeavored to market the regime through the staging of the 1936 Games. Similarly, Identity Evropa's choice of well-known classical-looking statues evokes a simplified, romanticized version of the past that is attractive to the group's target demographic.

After the Parthenon scene, a wipe effect transitions to a montage of six or seven white marble statues of men and women (Figs. 17-20). Frequent close-ups prevent the viewer from seeing the full poses of many of the statues, and it is difficult to tell exactly what some of them represent.¹³⁷ The footage, however, is detailed enough to indicate that Riefenstahl selected

¹³⁶ Athens was the first city to host the modern Olympiads, which does give it historical claim to the Games. Riefenstahl's choice of the Parthenon probably honors the city's modern contributions to sporting events. Mike O'Mahony, "The Birth of the Modern Olympic Games," in *Olympic Visions: Images of the Games Through History* (London, 2013) 43.

¹³⁷ An analysis of the stills, however, shows that Riefenstahl included some art-historically significant statues in this scene: the Barberini Faun (Munich, Glyptothek 218), the Medusa Rondanini (Munich, Glyptothek, 252), and the

statues of the Classical (480-323 BCE) and Hellenistic (323-31 BCE) periods. She captures the serious, emotive expressions of these statues, as well as their sublime physiques, in excruciatingly close, sensual detail.

Although Riefenstahl focuses on sensuality, features statues of women, and uses no words or captions, her style in this montage is highly reminiscent of Identity Evropa's posters, which also feature black-and-white imagery and dramatic close-ups of facial expressions. Clearly, Riefenstahl chose to focus on the aesthetics of the statues over their historical context, a decision which is tied to Nazi racial ideology. Identity Evropa's posters present a similar sort of decontextualized art-historical *mélange*, which nonetheless evokes the racialized aesthetic the group tries to promote. Ending the montage in *Olympia I* is the Lancellotti Discobolus, a Roman marble copy of a Greek bronze statue by Myron that depicts a discus thrower (Figs. 21 and 23).¹³⁸ Through a dissolve overlay, the marble quickly transforms into a nude man (Fig. 22), who springs to life as he throws the discus. The transformation of this statue is where the connection to Nazi racial ideology becomes most apparent.

The man into which the statue transforms is actually the German decathlon champion Erwin Huber, whom Riefenstahl had noticed had the same physique as the statue.¹³⁹ With the

head of Alexander the Great (Athens, Acropolis Museum 1331). It is notable that Riefenstahl appears to have sourced most of the statues from the Munich Glyptothek, as opposed to the Acropolis Museum in Athens.

¹³⁸ Adolf Hitler was so fascinated by the Lancellotti Discobolus, that he spent two years attempting to purchase it. He finally succeeded in 1938, the same year that *Olympia* was released. The statue was exhibited in the Munich Glyptothek, until it was repatriated to Italy after the end of World War II. Ian Jenkins, *The Discobolus*, (British Museum Objects in Focus; London, 2012) 53.

¹³⁹ David B. Hinton, *The Films of Leni Riefenstahl* third ed., Filmmakers Series 74; (Lanham and London, 2000) 50.

Nuremberg Laws of 1935 in effect, being German definitively meant being Aryan, and Riefenstahl seamlessly illustrated the supposed continuity of the race from past to present by the dissolve from statue to man.¹⁴⁰ Daniel Wildmann theorizes that the montage of the statues, which features heroes and gods, establishes a “noble genealogy” that ends with Huber, and he notes the additional presence of a mimetic relationship: the living body of Huber mimics the marble body.¹⁴¹ Riefenstahl expected that the viewer would desire both the Aryan body of Discobolus/Huber and the idea of having that same Aryan body.¹⁴² Thus, *Olympia I* became one “source for the National Socialist self-image between 1936 and 1938” that was “presented to the contemporary German public.”¹⁴³

The transformation of the Discobolus fabricates a link between the Classical Greek past and the Nazi German present by modeling for German men a racialized aesthetic of the ideal male Aryan body. Similar themes are at work in the Identity Evropa posters. In order to build a continuity of white European heritage from past to present, the posters establish a “noble genealogy” by featuring classical-looking statues of gods and heroes. The use of the personal pronoun “us” and the possessive pronoun “our” in the slogans indicates that the genealogy culminates in the intended Identity Evropa recruits: young white men of European descent. The posters also imply a mimetic relationship between living white male bodies and the marble

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Wildmann, “Desired Bodies: Leni Riefenstahl’s *Olympia*, Aryan Masculinity and the Classical Body,” in *Brill’s Companion to the Classics, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, ed. Helen Roche and Kyriakos N. Dēmētriou, (Brill’s Companions to Classical Reception; Leiden and Boston, 2018) 70–71.

¹⁴¹ Wildmann, 68.

¹⁴² Wildmann, 79.

¹⁴³ Wildmann, 60.

bodies of the statues. While recruits are not encouraged to desire the marble bodies themselves (for instance, in any sexual way), they should desire to emulate the same qualities of resilience, measured strength, virtuous beauty, authority, and Western classical tradition that the statues are shown to possess. The posters simultaneously become part of Identity Evropa's self-image and the vision of the future it wishes to bring about.

Critics today remain divided on whether the *Olympia* films should be considered propaganda or art, comparable to how college campuses are divided on whether Identity Evropa posters should be considered hate speech or free expression. Strikingly, Leni Riefenstahl and Nathan Damigo have taken similar defensive stances when confronted about their work. Riefenstahl asserted that she was an apolitical filmmaker purely interested in making art, and she consistently denied that even her Nazi party rally films were meant to be propaganda. Some critics continue to believe her assertions. David Hinton in particular points to her later emphasis on African-American athlete Jesse Owens to suggest that Riefenstahl flouted Nazi racial ideology in *Olympia* and truly considered the athletes as individuals.¹⁴⁴ Considering that the films were meant to deflect attention from Nazi Germany's racism and anti-Semitism, Riefenstahl's inclusion of Owens cannot simply be explained as an indicator of any personal, apolitical views on her part.

When explaining his work with Identity Evropa, Nathan Damigo never outwardly uses the language of supremacy or violence; he speaks instead about advocating for white interests, but not over the interests of any other racial group. Damigo turns identity politics on its head, appearing to focus almost exclusively on identity in order to cover up the group's internal

¹⁴⁴ Hinton, *The Films of Leni Riefenstahl* 60.

political goal of a white ethnostate and the violence it would inevitably entail. He is adept at couching Identity Evropa's ideology in code words that disguise its true hate-filled nature.

To those outside the alt-right or neo-Nazi groups, Riefenstahl and Damigo have done themselves no favors by asserting that they are apolitical, and by extension, that their respective art and posters are nonpolitical. At best, they appear totally naïve, completely unaware of the implications of grossly misusing classical imagery in such ways. At worst, they look like manipulative opportunists who have resorted to lies to absolve themselves of any offense. The similarities between Riefenstahl and Damigo, as well as those between the Nazis and Identity Evropa, are strong enough that they cannot be denied. They both co-opted pieces of art that were already widely admired and then exploited their cultural resonance in order to spread their respective propaganda.

As explained earlier, however, Identity Evropa has devoted considerable effort to moving away from any public association with neo-Nazism. Is the group's choice of imagery on its posters, then, an unfortunate mistake? On the contrary, it is likely a conscious choice. The *Olympia* films may have even provided direct inspiration. Although the films are banned in Germany, along with all other Nazi materials, they are publicly accessible on YouTube in America. It is entirely possible that Nathan Damigo came across the films when designing the posters.

Additionally, members of Identity Evropa seem to harbor some level of awareness of the links between the Nazis and the Classics. Chat messages from the leaked Discord server allude to the fascist roots of the romanticized use of classical antiquity:

America was modeled largely on the Roman Republic wherein it was understood sometimes a strong man needs to step up to restore basic order or win a war, and from

whence we get the fasces as a symbol in the West.¹⁴⁵

If fascists in the 1930s looked back to Romans, will fascists in the 2020s look back to Nazis?¹⁴⁶

Broke: we need a new hitler [sic]

Woke: we need a Roman system that allows a temporary dictatorship to restore order¹⁴⁷

Romantacising [sic] the past is an American pastime.¹⁴⁸

These users do not refer to the posters specifically, but they do notice more general connections between the Nazi regime, the Roman Republic, and Identity Evropa. This is particularly apparent from the message that implies that as the Nazis drew inspiration from the Romans, Identity Evropa will draw inspiration from the Nazis.

Identity Evropa might not expect most students, especially those who do not have academic backgrounds in classics, archaeology, or art history, to recognize the connections between fascism and classical antiquity, but the group does want its posters to elicit visceral reactions from students. After seeing and hearing of the group's posters on campuses across the country, progressive students may begin to associate classical sculpture with an inherent white nationalism, which may dissuade them from studying art history, archaeology, or the classics.¹⁴⁹ At the same time, the imagery on the posters speaks to the subset of reactionary students Identity Evropa wants to reach: the young white men who are already inclined to white nationalism. Identity Evropa's posters, therefore, are some of the strongest evidence aside from the leaked

¹⁴⁵ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=468#message-1604210

¹⁴⁶ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/284?per_page=250&page=956#message-1349327

¹⁴⁷ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/284?per_page=250&page=627#message-1508475

¹⁴⁸ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=486#message-1595063

¹⁴⁹ How this response would benefit Identity Evropa is discussed in the following chapter.

Discord server that no matter how the group publicly dresses its own views, it is neo-Nazi at its core.

Identity Evropa's co-option of classical-looking imagery on its posters, similar to the co-option of the "fashy haircut" described earlier, is part of a broader strategy to sow fear and confusion in the majority of people, while attracting the minority of people the group actually targets. While most campuses will spend time debating whether the posters themselves count as white-supremacist hate speech, the posters will theoretically have reached their intended audience and done their job. #ProjectSiege illustrates how Identity Evropa maintains a hate-filled ideology and tones it down for most of the outside world, so the group can continue to spread this ideology to the people who are already receptive to it. The imagery on the posters simultaneously, and paradoxically, supports and conceals the true nature of the group's ideology.

Ultimately, the posters are more sophisticated than meets the eye, and by all accounts, they have worked to increase membership in Identity Evropa. At the time of the group's founding in March 2016, it reportedly had around 12 members. About a month after #Project Siegf launched in September, Nathan Damigo posted on the now-defunct Identity Evropa "Action Report" blog, describing how the group had already put up posters at over two dozen campuses across the country.¹⁵⁰ Damigo provided a list of the campuses, which included colleges and universities at the private, public, state, and community levels.

The list does seem to indicate a bias towards public schools, which may be explained by free-speech protections on campuses. Regarding free academic inquiry, public schools are

¹⁵⁰ Nathan Damigo, "Posting," *Identity Evropa*, October 2, 2016,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20180713185852/https://www.identityevropa.com/action-report/postering>.

expected to uphold the First Amendment, while private schools are expected to comply with their “‘stated institutional policies’ on freedom of speech.”¹⁵¹ Because public schools have less freedom to regulate speech than do private schools, it is more difficult for public schools to condemn Identity Evropa’s posters outright and officially remove them. This situation was not improved by President Trump’s recent executive order, directing federal agencies to withdraw federal funding from colleges that fail to follow existing federal free-speech law.¹⁵²

Interestingly, however, Identity Evropa does not shy away from putting up posters at religious or liberal institutions. The group knows that its posters provoke controversy and generate news exposure at virtually every campus. That news exposure, in addition to social media mentions, can cause more people to see the posters than if they were quietly taken down by concerned individuals.¹⁵³ Identity Evropa also shares images of its own poster incidents on its Twitter account in order to increase media attention.

Members of Identity Evropa, especially those who are currently college students, do not want to attract attention to themselves. They tend not to place posters on their own campuses or

¹⁵¹ Andrew Kreighbaum, “White House Executive Order Prods Colleges on Free Speech, Program-Level Data and Risk Sharing,” *Inside Higher Ed*, March 22, 2019, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2019/03/22/white-house-executive-order-prods-colleges-free-speech-program-level-data-and-risk>.

¹⁵² President Trump described his reason for signing this executive order as a vague threat to free academic inquiry at public and private schools. Journalists largely saw the order as a move to protect conservative speech on campuses. The order was signed a couple of weeks after Identity Evropa rebranded to the American Identity Movement. Kreighbaum, “White House Executive Order Prods Colleges on Free Speech.”

¹⁵³ News exposure covering Identity Evropa runs the same risk as the interview on the TODAY Show: it can function as a recruitment ad for Identity Evropa, if done improperly.

campuses where they are known, in order to avoid being identified if caught. Members who admit to having placed posters on their own campuses do not recommend doing so, especially to newer members.¹⁵⁴ Veteran members do not even consider their own campuses for putting up posters,¹⁵⁵ and they suggest that members should dress casually and place posters during the day, in order to attract the least possible amount of attention to themselves.¹⁵⁶

In a February 2017 interview, Damigo reported that Identity Evropa had about 300 members and that the group had already put up posters at forty colleges during the current semester.¹⁵⁷ At this time, Damigo was living in California with his parents, who enabled him to grow Identity Evropa by allowing him to live rent-free without a job.¹⁵⁸ His now estranged brother remembers how Damigo would seclude himself in his room with the large printer he used for the posters, constantly on the phone screening potential members.¹⁵⁹ During academic year 2016-2017, the watchdog group Anti-Defamation League (ADL) tracked 65 incidents of Identity Evropa posters in 19 states,¹⁶⁰ which roughly matched Identity Evropa's own statements regarding #ProjectSiege. The ADL also noted that out of the total of 188 incidents of white

¹⁵⁴ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=175#message-1750270

¹⁵⁵ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=175#message-1750280

¹⁵⁶ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=175#message-1750447

¹⁵⁷ Shukman, "Meet the Neo-Nazi Coming to Put up White Pride Posters on Your Campus."

¹⁵⁸ Thompson, "My Brother, the White Nationalist."

¹⁵⁹ Thompson.

¹⁶⁰ Watchdog groups like the ADL rely on individuals to report these incidents. Presumably, watchdog groups can also track and cross-reference incidents via Identity Evropa's social media accounts. "ADL: White Supremacist Group Redoubling Hate Fliering Efforts On Campus," *Anti-Defamation League*, September 11, 2017, <https://www.adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-white-supremacist-group-redoubling-hate-fliering-efforts-on-campus>.

supremacist flyers, posters, stickers, and banners that appeared on college campuses thus far, Identity Evropa was the most prolific group represented.¹⁶¹

Barely two weeks into the fall semester of academic year 2017-2018, the ADL reported that Identity Evropa had put up posters at over a dozen campuses in three states.¹⁶² Around this time, the Great Lakes Regional Coordinator for Identity Evropa told a *VICE* journalist that applications were still pouring in after Charlottesville, and he boasted that the group had 1000 members.¹⁶³ This number, however, was very likely inflated. A few months later, the ADL published full statistics on incidents of white supremacist flyers, posters, stickers, and banners that appeared on campuses from September 1, 2016 to January 29, 2018. The watchdog group tracked 346 total incidents on 216 campuses in 44 states and the District of Columbia.¹⁶⁴ Identity Evropa was by far the most prolific group represented. It accounted for 158 incidents, or nearly

¹⁶¹ From September 1, 2016 to September 11, 2017, 188 total incidents occurred on 129 campuses in 39 states. Other white supremacist groups who distribute propaganda include Patriot Front, Vanguard America, Atomwaffen Division, Daily Stormer, American Renaissance, and Traditionalist Workers' Party. "ADL: White Supremacist Group Redoubling Hate Fiering Efforts On Campus."

¹⁶² "ADL: White Supremacist Group Redoubling Hate Fiering Efforts On Campus."

¹⁶³ Tess Owen, "White Supremacists Are Targeting College Campuses for Recruitment," *Vice News*, September 22, 2017, https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/7xw7qq/white-supremacists-are-targeting-college-campuses-for-recruitment.

¹⁶⁴ Breaking the numbers down by calendar year, 41 incidents occurred in 2016 (September to December), 290 occurred in 2017, and 15 occurred in 2018 (January). "*White Supremacist Propaganda Surges on Campus*," *Anti-Defamation League*, January 29, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/white-supremacist-propaganda-surges-on-campus>.

half the total amount.¹⁶⁵ To judge from the ADL statistics,¹⁶⁶ Identity Evropa accounted for around 109 to 121 incidents in calendar year 2017.

Identity Evropa had just twelve members at its founding in March 2016, which jumped to around 300 by February 2017. By the end of 2018, the group was thought to have anywhere from 800 to 1000 members, and the main Discord server confirmed 886 active users¹⁶⁷ at the time of the leaks in March 2019. At this time, the group's social media following on YouTube and Twitter, relative to similar groups, was immense: 6,901 subscribers and 30,000 followers, respectively. The ADL eventually published full statistics on incidents of white supremacist flyers, posters, stickers, and banners that appeared on campuses during calendar year 2018, and it is clear that Identity Evropa's "outreach" strongly correlated with increased membership.

The watchdog group tracked 319 total incidents in 2018 on 212 campuses in 37 states and the District of Columbia.¹⁶⁸ Identity Evropa was responsible for 191 of these incidents, and it

¹⁶⁵ "White Supremacist Propaganda Surges on Campus."

¹⁶⁶ 158 total incidents attributed to Identity Evropa were recorded from September 1, 2016 to January 29, 2018. 65 of these incidents were already assigned to academic year 2016-2017; 25 can be assigned to the fall 2016 semester and 40 can be assigned to the spring 2017 semester, to judge from on Nathan Damigo's posts. Out of the remaining 93 incidents, about 12 to 24 can be assigned to January 2018, on the basis of Identity Evropa's average posting speed. That leaves about 69 to 81 incidents assigned to the fall 2017 semester, for a total of 109 to 121 incidents in calendar year 2017.

¹⁶⁷ <https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/server/34>

¹⁶⁸ "White Supremacists Step Up Off-Campus Propaganda Efforts in 2018," *Anti-Defamation League*, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/white-supremacists-step-up-off-campus-propaganda-efforts-in-2018>.

was again the most prolific group represented.¹⁶⁹ The ADL also identified a worrying new trend: although there was little growth in on-campus incidents, off-campus incidents grew immensely. In calendar year 2017, the ADL recorded 129 off-campus incidents, which spiked to 868 in 2018; Identity Evropa accounted for 312 of the off-campus incidents in 2018.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, out of a total of 1,187 white supremacist propaganda incidents in 2018, Identity Evropa accounted for 503, which is nearly half of all incidents.¹⁷¹

These statistics are corroborated by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), another watchdog group. It published an interactive online map documenting all white supremacist campus flyers, public flyers, and banner drops across the nation in calendar year 2018. Of the total of 1,297 incidents that the SPLC recorded, Identity Evropa was responsible for 583 of them (Table 3).¹⁷² This is slightly less than half the total, but Identity Evropa was still the most prolific group represented by far. Broken down by state, the SPLC statistics show that the highest number of incidents occurred in California, Colorado, New York, Oklahoma, and Illinois.¹⁷³

These states are likely targeted not because of the prevalence of any political party, but because of a perceived increase in diversity and immigration, especially to large metropolitan

¹⁶⁹ “White Supremacists Step Up Off-Campus Propaganda Efforts in 2018.”

¹⁷⁰ There are no data for how many off-campus incidents Identity Evropa accounted in 2017. “White Supremacists Step Up Off-Campus Propaganda Efforts in 2018.”

¹⁷¹ “White Supremacists Step Up Off-Campus Propaganda Efforts in 2018.”

¹⁷² The total consists of 373 public flyers, 181 campus flyers, and 29 banner drops. “Map of White Supremacist Flying in the U.S.,” *Southern Poverty Law Center*, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/flying-map>.

¹⁷³ The total incidents for these states, respectively, are as follows: 104, 53, 44, 39, and 32. California alone accounted for about 18% of Identity Evropa’s propaganda incidents in calendar year 2018.

areas and “sanctuary cities.” According to the Center for Immigration Studies, New York has several sanctuary cities and counties; California, Colorado, and Illinois are sanctuary states.¹⁷⁴

“Sanctuary” is an unofficial term that refers to cities, counties, and states that “do not fully cooperate with federal efforts to find and deport unauthorized immigrants.”¹⁷⁵ Identity Evropa is known to target sanctuary cities, especially with anti-immigration banner drops.

The data collected by the ADL show that Identity Evropa put up posters on about 25 campuses in fall 2016. This was followed by around 109 to 121 campus incidents and an unknown number of public incidents in 2017. In 2018, Identity Evropa accounted for 191 campus incidents and 312 public incidents, for a total of 503 incidents of propaganda distribution. These statistics indicate that Identity Evropa has ramped up its propaganda efforts exponentially and consistently, and that the group has successfully increased its membership through #ProjectSiege. In a little over two years, Identity Evropa nearly tripled its membership base and built up a social media reach many times larger than its membership base.

¹⁷⁴ Oklahoma, the outlier, is not a sanctuary state, and it does not have sanctuary cities or counties. “Maps: Sanctuary Cities, Counties, and States,” *CIS.org*, April 16, 2019, <https://cis.org/Map-Sanctuary-Cities-Counties-and-States>.

¹⁷⁵ The political tensions and legal obligations between local jurisdictions and the federal government are complex, but an oversimplification of sanctuary cities plays a key role in white-nationalist culture wars. White-nationalists perceive sanctuary cities as “places where the rule of law” does not apply. They think that “Democratic-controlled governments have allied with ‘open borders radicals’ ... to prevent Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents from arresting unauthorized immigrants even when [they have] been convicted of crimes.” Dara Lind, “Sanctuary Cities, Explained,” *Vox*, March 8, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/3/8/17091984/sanctuary-cities-city-state-illegal-immigration-sessions>.

Preliminary data for 2019 are available from the SPLC. From January through March, Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement accounted for 24 campus poster incidents, 44 public poster incidents, and five banner drops, for a total of 73 incidents of propaganda distribution.¹⁷⁶ Compared to previous years, the group's capacity to put up posters appears to have slowed down. As discussed in the last chapter, the group's rebranding as the American Identity Movement has put a dent in its membership base and social-media following. Even though the gross number of members in Identity Evropa was small, and the number in American Identity Movement is smaller, it is imperative to consider the number of people that the group reached, and still has the potential to reach. #ProjectSiege, and the use of posters generally, ultimately proved to be an effective tactic in Identity Evropa's ramped-up recruitment efforts. This tactic will likely continue to be effective for the American Identity Movement in the future.

¹⁷⁶ "Map of White Supremacist Flyering in the U.S."

Despite the efficacy of Identity Evropa's original posters, the group adopted a different set of themes and images, focused on patriotic imagery, when it rebranded as the American Identity Movement in March 2019 (Figs. 24 to 34).¹⁷⁷ As discussed in the previous chapters, Identity Evropa's membership base and capacity to put up posters decreased after the rebrand, although it is difficult to tell by how much. While the original posters reached a large audience, the new ones may be reaching fewer people, especially after heightened public awareness of Identity Evropa following the Unicorn Riot chat leaks. Students of the classics, however, should still be concerned about the group, even though Identity Evropa and its classical-looking propaganda have technically ceased to exist.¹⁷⁸ Most worrisome is the fact that Identity Evropa continues to recruit at colleges and universities, and despite the change of posters, the field of classical studies may still be implicated.

One of the main reasons Identity Evropa recruits on campuses is a fear of overarching demographic trends that the group believes negatively affect white, male students. Today, more women graduate with a bachelor's degree than do men (Table 1). In academic year 2016-2017, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) recorded that 1,119,987 bachelor's degrees

¹⁷⁷ Identity Evropa's new batch of six full-color posters features eagles, American flags, Columbia, and WWI-era imagery. Like the group did with the previous posters, Identity Evropa decontextualizes these pieces of Americana to create an art-historical *mélange*. Similar to how the group co-opted the CD cover that featured the Saarlouis angel, Identity Evropa found existing ads, posters, and paintings, removed all identifying text, and inserted its own name and logo.

¹⁷⁸ I will continue to refer to the group as Identity Evropa, recognizing that the American Identity Movement is merely a rebrand and not a new organization, as the group claims it is.

were conferred on women, while 836,045 bachelor's degrees were conferred on men.¹⁷⁹ Women thus accounted for 57.3% of all bachelor's degrees conferred in that year, and people of color accounted for 38.9% of all bachelor's degrees conferred.¹⁸⁰ From 2015-2016 to 2016-2017, the percent of degrees conferred on women increased by 0.1 percentage points, and the percent of degrees conferred on people of color increased by 1.2 percentage points (Table 1). The NCES predicts that by 2026-2027, 58.0% of degrees will be conferred on women, and although it does not make predictions for race, it is reasonable to estimate that the percent of degrees conferred on people of color may approach 50.0% by 2026-2027.

At the undergraduate level, there are more women than men present on campuses, and students of color are growing closer to statistical parity with white students. These upward trends will continue over the next decade. Identity Evropa, and the alt-right broadly, perceive colleges and universities as microcosms of the "Great Replacement."¹⁸¹ White-nationalists are angered by the growing numbers of women and people of color on campuses, and they absurdly believe that white men will ultimately become disenfranchised as a result.

¹⁷⁹ "Degrees Conferred by Postsecondary Institutions, by Level of Degree and Sex of Student: Selected Years, 1869-70 through 2026-27," *National Center for Education Statistics*, March 2017, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16_318.10.asp.

¹⁸⁰ "Bachelor's Degrees Conferred to [sic] Males by Postsecondary Institutions, by Race/Ethnicity and Field of Study: 2015-16 and 2016-17," *National Center for Education Statistics*, August 2018, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_322.40.asp?current=yes ; "Bachelor's Degrees Conferred to [sic] Females by Postsecondary Institutions, by Race/Ethnicity and Field of Study: 2015-16 and 2016-17," *National Center for Education Statistics*, August 2018, https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_322.50.asp?current=yes.

¹⁸¹ See above, footnote 26 for a discussion of the "Great Replacement."

In line with this belief, Nathan Damigo implied in a 2017 interview that colleges and universities promote “anti-white” and “anti-male” narratives to students:

Over the coming years many of them are going to learn narratives that are being propagated on college campuses aren't accurate. We want them to know us when they're ready to fight back and challenge this narrative.¹⁸²

His sentiments are echoed by other members of Identity Evropa, as demonstrated by the following chat messages from the Discord server:

My history professor already hit us with the classic race and gender are social constructs bit... I put on my best pokerface [sic]¹⁸³

And besides, many people are now pilled¹⁸⁴ just enough to know that university is a soft indoctrination camp first and an education second.¹⁸⁵

Members of Identity Evropa clearly feel threatened by the rising diversity in colleges and universities.

A breakdown of the NCES statistics on conferred bachelor's degrees by degree shows that women now dominate the liberal arts and humanities, and people of color are significantly represented in social sciences, liberal arts, and humanities (Table 2). In academic year 2016-2017, 63.5% of degrees in the liberal arts and humanities were conferred on women, and 38.1%

¹⁸² Shukman, “Meet the Neo-Nazi Coming to Put up White Pride Posters on Your Campus.”

¹⁸³ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/284?per_page=250&page=1739#message-1835995

¹⁸⁴ See above, footnote 11 for a discussion of “red-pilling.”

¹⁸⁵ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=649#message-1518249

on people of color.¹⁸⁶ 51.7% of degrees in the social sciences were conferred on women, and 46.2% on people of color. Philosophy and history, however, still appear to be predominantly white, male fields. Women earned 38.1% of philosophy degrees and 40.5% of history degrees, and people of color 33.5% and 26.1% of degrees respectively.

72.6% of degrees in area, ethnic, cultural, gender, and group studies were conferred on women, and 58.9% on people of color. Although the NCES did not break down the groups of subjects any further, classical studies would fall under this category.¹⁸⁷ Classical studies in particular seems to be a field whose increasing diversification seems to elicit strong reactionary sentiment from white-nationalists, who may feel that they are the sole inheritors of Western or European civilization. Identity Evropa members describe feeling alienated from disciplines that increasingly no longer reflect their race or gender:

But what I think she is understandably frantic about is that European Professors [sic] are getting kicked out of Classical European history departments. She has noticed the same pattern over and over through history. ...¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ “Bachelor’s Degrees Conferred to [sic] Males by Postsecondary Institutions, by Race/Ethnicity and Field of Study: 2015-16 and 2016-17”; “Bachelor’s Degrees Conferred to [sic] Females by Postsecondary Institutions, by Race/Ethnicity and Field of Study: 2015-16 and 2016-17.”

¹⁸⁷ The NCES did not include archaeology or anthropology as degree types. While anthropology was likely subsumed into the social sciences, it is unclear whether the NCES considers archaeology to fall under the social sciences or the humanities. Classical studies, however, is clearly a type of cultural study and should fall under that degree type.

¹⁸⁸ In this message, “she” refers to an alt-right YouTuber who publicly supported Mary Frances Williams, the independent scholar who was removed from the 2019 Society for Classical Studies meeting after she directed a racist comment towards Professor Dan-el Padilla Peralta during a panel on diversity in classical studies.

https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/313?per_page=250&page=26#message-1386062

classics [sic] at my university are [sic] full of genderqueer [sic] SJWs¹⁸⁹ for some reason... all english [sic] departments are pretty bad in that regard¹⁹⁰

These members are manufacturing a crisis¹⁹¹ by suggesting that in academia, and especially in classical studies, white men are being forcibly replaced by women and people of color.

The implication is that Identity Evropa ultimately wants courses on classical studies and European history to be taught by white, male professors for white, male students. Thus, the group's appeal to classical-looking imagery on its posters evokes a glorified, fraternal vision of the past that serves as a model for the future the group wishes to bring about on campuses. In addition to the posters, members-only outings exemplify this transhistorical construct:

IE Members in Southern California spent their Saturday at the Getty Villa and Museum where they viewed classic European paintings and sculptures, strengthened their fraternal

¹⁸⁹ SJW is an acronym for “Social Justice Warrior,” a pejorative term used for individuals, typically women, who promote socially progressive views (including feminism, civil rights, multiculturalism, and identity politics). Within the alt-right, SJWs are construed as individuals who repeatedly and aggressively argue for social justice online, either to virtue signal (i.e., raise their own reputations) or to attack the reputations of people who do not agree with them. The alt-right frequently blames SJWs and their alleged aggressiveness for causing the resurgence of misogyny and racism seen in the last few years. Angela Nagle, *Kill All Normies: The Online Culture Wars from Tumblr and 4chan to the Alt-Right and Trump* (Winchester, 2017) 76–78.

¹⁹⁰ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/293?per_page=250&page=1#message-1875552

¹⁹¹ The power of the alt-right media machine in this regard cannot be understated. Conspiracy theories and manufactured crises are planted to inspire paranoia, rumors, fake news, and violence. These theories and crises are weaponized as they move through alt-right media pipelines: from 4chan and Reddit, to Twitter and Facebook, to journalists and mainstream media. As 4chan and Reddit become more mainstream, more alternative sites such as Gab, Voat, 8chan, and Discord are increasingly becoming first stops on the pipeline. The alt-right has transformed conspiracy theories from “paranormal historical thought exercises” to “politically motivated misinformation.” Mike Wendling, *Alt-Right: From 4chan to the White House* (London, 2018) 156–168.

bonds, and treated themselves to an excellent meal.¹⁹²

The connection made between classical studies and white fraternity speaks to young white men who feel disaffected by the demographic shifts on campuses and believe that these shifts are disconnecting them from a heritage to which they feel they are exclusively entitled.

Even with the use of the new patriotic posters, Identity Evropa may still find exceedingly fruitful recruitment ground in classical studies departments, as well as departments of art history, archaeology, and history. Chat messages from the Discord server are telling:

going to be honest, i [sic] really enjoyed learning latin [sic] and taking those classes in high school. ... it was mostly roman [sic] military history and roman sociocultural lessons through reading latin works¹⁹³

I read that [Meditations by Marcus Aurelius] when I was in Highschool [sic]. I guess I began my redpill journey early¹⁹⁴

My studying of roman/greek [sic] history and battles redpilled me hard before I knew what redpill meant.¹⁹⁵

Before I was even redpilled I was studying Rome out of my own autistic [sic] volition.¹⁹⁶

my dad would read me that [Norse mythology] and greek [sic] myths when I was little based and redpilled?¹⁹⁷

My boyfriend is obsessed with classical music and I love it. That was the first sign that I knew I could red pill him. ... classical music is the music of the white soul¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/311?per_page=250&page=39#message-1367000

¹⁹³ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/271?per_page=250&page=8#message-1125414

¹⁹⁴ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=9#message-1832976

¹⁹⁵ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=516#message-1583602

¹⁹⁶ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=18#message-1828451

¹⁹⁷ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=533#message-1575179

¹⁹⁸ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=611#message-1537593

Many Identity Evropa members appear to have studied or enjoyed classical culture in some capacity and believe that their interactions with the material “red-pilled” them. What these messages seem to suggest is that a certain number of young white men may develop a reactionary worldview through the study of ancient Greece and Rome before the start of any postsecondary education. If these men pursue classical studies at the postsecondary level, they may cling to and even reinforce their worldview further, especially if they already feel threatened by rising diversity on campuses. Essentially, Identity Evropa is not causing white-nationalists to flock to classical studies; rather, some students of the classics appear to be turning to white-nationalism, which means that Identity Evropa is tapping into something deeper. Put another way, Identity Evropa is one symptom of a larger problem,¹⁹⁹ not the cause.

Although Identity Evropa is no longer co-opting classical-looking imagery on its posters, the group may have accomplished some of the metapolitical²⁰⁰ damage it intended. To a certain extent, Identity Evropa has succeeded in associating classical cultures with an inherent white-nationalism in the popular imaginary. This association works to the group’s advantage like so: it takes a dangerous sentiment already espoused by its target demographic, and it weaponizes that sentiment against everyone else. When journalists repeatedly make connections between Identity Evropa, the Nazis, and their co-option of classical cultures, students may begin to associate

¹⁹⁹ That larger problem is the question of whether the classical cultures are inherently toxic, dangerous, or fascist. It is beyond the scope of this paper to argue one way or another. I, however, am of the opinion that this question is less important than the fact that classical cultures have the potential to be co-opted by fascists. Identity Evropa represents the first major resurgence of this type of co-option since the Nazis, and classical cultures are demonstrably dangerous in the hands of a group that successfully uses them to mobilize white-nationalists.

²⁰⁰ See above, footnote 15 for a definition of metapolitics.

classical studies with an inherent complicity in white-nationalism. At the same time, the minority of students who are already interested in classical studies because they believe it supports their white-nationalist worldview may want to join Identity Evropa. Simultaneously dissuading progressive students, especially women and people of color, from classical studies and encouraging reactionary students to join Identity Evropa is likely another one of the group's goals. Sowing fear and confusion in the majority of students through its inflammatory posters is part of its strategy to "reclaim" classical studies for young white men, and this strategy adds another layer of meaning to the name "#ProjectSiege."

The second reason Identity Evropa targets college and university campuses is that the group is the most significant youth arm of the broader alt-right movement. Identity Evropa does publicly present itself as young, mostly millennial men, and by all accounts, this is an accurate representation of the group's membership. When Sam Argyle infiltrated Identity Evropa, he was interviewed by a man in his mid-twenties.²⁰¹ His regional coordinator remarked that Identity Evropa was mostly made up of college-educated men from middle- to upper-middle-class backgrounds, demographics that Argyle largely confirmed when he attended the 2018 "Leading Our People Forward" conference.²⁰² The rest of the alt-right, however, may not be as youthful as it presents itself to be.

²⁰¹ Argyle, "My Weekend with White Nationalists."

²⁰² Argyle.

Leaders of the alt-right, such as Richard Spencer, have described the movement as “edgy” and “countercultural.”²⁰³ The use of these particular adjectives seems to refer to both the movement’s original internet-based “activism” and its putatively youthful members. Historically, countercultures have valued the transgression of social norms, but their politics have leaned progressive and their members have generated art, music, literature, and other pieces of culture.²⁰⁴ The alt-right, on the other hand, derives its social capital (i.e., the quality of “edginess” associated with the transgression of social norms) from having reactionary politics.²⁰⁵ Additionally, the movement has produced no truly original pieces of culture.²⁰⁶ As Angela Nagle writes, the alt-right simply has the “ability to assume the aesthetics of counterculture, transgression and nonconformity.”²⁰⁷ Thus, the alt-right’s deceptive self-presentation as a

²⁰³ Sarah Posner, “‘Radically Mainstream’: Why the Alt-Right Is Celebrating Trump’s Win,” *Rolling Stone*, November 28, 2016, <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/radically-mainstream-why-the-alt-right-is-celebrating-trumps-win-110791/>.

²⁰⁴ Nagle, *Kill All Normies: The Online Culture Wars from Tumblr and 4chan to the Alt-Right and Trump*, 38–39.

²⁰⁵ The alt-right movement thus demonstrates that the value of transgression is “ideologically flexible,” “politically fungible,” and “morally neutral.” Nagle, 37–39.

²⁰⁶ The closest thing that the alt-right has to an “original” piece of culture is “fashwave” (as in “fascist”), a genre of electronic music. Fashwave “artists,” however, imitate an existing genre of electronic music known as “vaporwave” and merely add neo-Nazi titles (such as “Galactic Lebensraum”) and imagery into their music videos. The co-option of vaporwave is very similar to the co-option of the high-and-tight haircut: the alt-right transforms an inherently harmless piece of culture into something “fashy” (see above, footnote 128). For an excellent, in-depth analysis of how and why fashwave “artists” co-opt vaporwave music, see Jip Lemmens, “Putting the ‘Neon’ in ‘Neo-Nazi,’” *EIDOLON*, October 19, 2017, <https://eidolon.pub/putting-the-neon-in-neo-nazi-4cea7c471a66>.

²⁰⁷ Nagle, *Kill All Normies: The Online Culture Wars from Tumblr and 4chan to the Alt-Right and Trump*, 28.

counterculture suggests not that the movement is youthful, but that the movement is trying to appeal to more youths.

Quantitative data about the demography of the alt-right seem to confirm this notion. In 2018, George Hawley of the Institute for Family Studies analyzed data from 3,038 non-Hispanic white respondents of the 2016 American National Election Study (ANES) survey.²⁰⁸ The ANES survey asked its respondents to answer several questions about their racial attitudes, which allowed Hawley to extrapolate how deeply white respondents identified with the sentiments of white identity, white solidarity, and white victimization.²⁰⁹ Hawley considered respondents who strongly identified with all three of these sentiments²¹⁰ to hold the same fundamental beliefs as the alt-right.²¹¹ Although no single demographic variable could definitively predict which subset of white Americans would strongly identify with all three sentiments, people who were

²⁰⁸ George Hawley, "The Demography of the Alt-Right," Institute for Family Studies, August 9, 2018, <https://ifstudies.org/blog/the-demography-of-the-alt-right>.

²⁰⁹ White identity was defined as the importance of race to the respondents' identity. White solidarity was defined as the importance of working with other whites "to change laws that are unfair to whites." White victimization was defined as the perceived prevalence of discrimination against whites in the United States. Hawley, "The Demography of the Alt-Right."

²¹⁰ White identity, solidarity, and victimization broadly align with the three sentiments that George T. Shaw has said unite the alt-right movement: "demography is destiny," Jewish individuals "have too much power," and "white genocide is happening." George T. Shaw, "Introduction: An Alternative to Failure," in *A Fair Hearing: The Alt-Right in the Words of Its Members and Leaders*, ed. George T. Shaw (Budapest, 2018) xi–xiv.

²¹¹ Despite sharing the same beliefs as the alt-right, these respondents may not have necessarily identified with the movement. Hawley, "The Demography of the Alt-Right."

divorced,²¹² aged forty-five and older, unemployed, low-income, and not college-educated were more likely to hold these beliefs (Table 4).²¹³ These statistics do not align with the youthful, college-educated image of itself that the alt-right typically presents. As the de-facto youth wing of the movement, Identity Evropa prioritizes recruitment on college and university campuses in order to attract millennial and Generation Z men to the ranks of the alt-right.

The third reason that Identity Evropa targets campuses is by far the most alarming one. The group recruits educated young white men because they have the potential to become involved in law, education, law enforcement, the military, and elected positions. By encouraging its members to pursue such careers, Identity Evropa can influence policy with its white-nationalist ideology. College recruitment is thus a part of Identity Evropa's strategy to achieve its long-term political goal of creating a white ethnostate by infiltrating the GOP and other related institutions.

As described in the first chapter, Patrick Casey in 2018 organized the "Leading Our People Forward" conference for Identity Evropa, attended the Conservative Political Action

²¹² Of all of the demographic variables, being divorced was the best indicator that an individual might strongly identify with all three sentiments. Hawley was unsure if divorce caused individuals to adopt alt-right beliefs or if holding alt-right beliefs caused individuals to become divorced. Considering the misogynistic attitudes that alt-right men tend to have towards divorce (e.g., divorce "spreads like herpes" among women, women instigate divorce to "look for better men," and women receive "too much" property and child support in divorce settlements), it seems that going through divorce may cause men to adopt alt-right beliefs. Roderick Kaine, "The Sexual Prisoner's Dilemma," in *A Fair Hearing: The Alt-Right in the Words of Its Members and Leaders*, ed. George T. Shaw (Budapest, 2018) 128.

²¹³ Hawley, "The Demography of the Alt-Right."

Conference, and prominently visited the White House grounds. On the Discord server, Identity Evropa members discussed “their plans to infiltrate College and Young Republicans groups, and local GOP offices, on at least 48 separate dates.”²¹⁴ Several other messages clearly express the belief that Identity Evropa members can most effectively spread the group’s ideology by making influential connections or holding positions of power:

At the core of your argument, I generally agree that the university system is largely a sham and in an ideal world much of our state funding should be cut from it. Our high school educational system should be improved and universities should be few and relegated to the elite with a limited amount of useful fields taught (maths, [sic] engineering, science, etc... a limited amount in the arts) But. [sic] that is not the world that we live in. Attending college and studying a useful program is THE [sic] way to get ahead - and all of our members who can, should. You're much more useful holding our views and being successful and connected, than holding our views and not.²¹⁵

If I woke up one day and I was in a powerful position, I wouldn't go tweeting "hey guys join Identity Evropa this group is based and redpilled," I'd keep my mouth shut and quietly vote for the best policies I can without getting removed from office.²¹⁶

We need more of our guys in the elementary system. The university system is on rocky ground atm [at the moment], and the market for it may burst in a few years. Meanwhile, elementary schools will always exist in stable numbers and regardless of what happens to the universities we can redpill these kids at an early age and make them skeptical of their professors if they go the uni [sic] route.²¹⁷

The most frightening aspect of these messages is that the belief expressed by their authors already appears to have had real consequences.

²¹⁴ Erin Corbett, “Leaked Chats Show How Far-Right Group Is Trying to Infiltrate the GOP,” Splinter, March 6, 2019, <https://splinternews.com/the-leaked-chats-that-show-how-a-far-right-group-is-try-1833068732>.

²¹⁵ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=788#message-1449948

²¹⁶ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=651#message-1517810

²¹⁷ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/314?per_page=250&page=5#message-1405989

As a result of the Unicorn Riot chat leaks, anti-fascist activists were able to “dox” many members of Identity Evropa, meaning that they published the private, personally identifying information of these members online.²¹⁸ The information that these activists gleaned is astonishing. Seven active members of the United States military were shown to be involved in Identity Evropa: two Marines, two Army Reserve Officer Training Corps cadets, an Army physician, a member of the Texas National Guard, and a member of the Air Force.²¹⁹ A Virginia police officer assigned to a high school as a School Resource Officer was revealed to be a regional coordinator for new Identity Evropa recruits.²²⁰ Two public high school teachers in Texas and Louisiana were exposed as Identity Evropa members, as well as the chief technology officer of a mobile app development company and a former member of the National Rifle Association’s board of directors.²²¹ Evidently, some members of Identity Evropa had a considerable amount of influence in communities and organizations beyond the group.

²¹⁸ An entire website has been devoted to collecting information about the identities of Identity Evropa members. “IdentifyEvropa,” IdentifyEvropa, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://identifyevropa.org>.

²¹⁹ Sophie Weiner, “Seven U.S. Military Members Tied to White Nationalist Group In Logs,” Splinter, March 18, 2019, <https://splinternews.com/seven-current-u-s-military-members-outed-as-having-tie-1833364932>.

²²⁰ He has since been removed from his position. Unicorn Riot reports that felony charges against a black student were dismissed due to this officer’s involvement in the case. Kelly Weill, “Cop Working at High School Revealed as White Nationalist Organizer,” The Daily Beast, March 18, 2019, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/virginia-cop-daniel-morley-revealed-as-identity-evropa-member>; Chris Schiano, “Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group,” UNICORN RIOT, April 11, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/identity-evropa-struggles-to-gain-footing-after-rebranding-as-patriot-group/>.

²²¹ Schiano, “Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group,” April 11, 2019.

On a broader scale, at least eight white-nationalists ran for state or federal office during the midterm elections in 2018.²²² James Allsup, the alt-right YouTuber who gave a speech about political participation at the 2018 “Leading Our People Forward” conference, was elected as precinct committee officer for the Whitman County Republican Party in Washington state.²²³ The pursuit of positions in politics and law is one manifestation of what the alt-right calls “lawfare.”²²⁴ Members of the alt-right blame the SPLC and ADL for prompting waves of social-media censorship that are allegedly “blacklisting right-wing thought criminals.”²²⁵ By infiltrating politics and the law, members of the alt-right can attempt to sway policy in their favor and turn the tide of censorship against the left. For example, a 35-year-old lawyer turned alt-right activist and politician, who calls himself Augustus Invictus, is trying to find a legal way to intern “leftists” and “antifa.”²²⁶ Although Invictus is not a member of Identity Evropa, he exemplifies

²²² “At Least 8 White Nationalists Running for State or Federal Office,” NBC News, May 31, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/nightly-news/video/at-least-8-white-nationalists-running-for-state-or-federal-office-1245779011829>.

²²³ He was, however, removed from his elected position earlier this year. Corbett, “Leaked Chats Show How Far-Right Group Is Trying to Infiltrate the GOP.”

²²⁴ “Lawfare” is a portmanteau of the words “law” and “warfare.” Members of the alt-right frequently see themselves as being “persecuted” by watchdog groups for being “thought criminals.” The word lawfare generally refers to this perceived censorship, but the term may also describe the alt-right’s retaliatory measures. George T. Shaw, “Dismantling Anti-White Newspeak,” in *A Fair Hearing: The Alt-Right in the Words of Its Members and Leaders*, ed. George T. Shaw (Budapest, 2018) 186.

²²⁵ Augustus Invictus, “Physical Removal: More Than a Meme,” in *A Fair Hearing: The Alt-Right in the Words of Its Members and Leaders*, ed. George T. Shaw (Budapest, 2018) 208.

²²⁶ Invictus believes that the “presidency was conceived of as a limited monarchy which gave the president – in the manner of Roman dictators – the power to single-handedly act against existential threats.” He uses the *Korematsu v.*

the danger of young alt-right men using their education and connections to advance the ideology of white-nationalism in the United States.

Only a handful of the alt-right, however, has been able to access mainstream positions of power, and the movement as a whole appears to be disintegrating. Therefore, some might argue that the level of influence these men have is actually quite low. Unicorn Riot, referring to the effect that the Discord server leaks and the subsequent “doxing” of Identity Evropa members has had on the group, takes the view that Identity Evropa is struggling to regain a foothold after its rebrand as the American Identity Movement.²²⁷ Mike Wendling observes that increased media scrutiny of the alt-right since the 2016 election has exposed pre-existing ideological divisions within the movement that are now fracturing it.²²⁸ He predicts that the alt-right will continue to break apart in the coming years.²²⁹ Even if Wendling’s prediction is accurate, does this disintegration signal a beginning of the end, or the end of a beginning?

George Hawley’s demographic study provides some further insights. He extrapolates that 28% of white respondents to the ANES survey expressed strong feelings of white identity, 38% expressed strong feelings of white solidarity, and 27% felt that whites suffered a meaningful amount of discrimination.²³⁰ About six percent of white respondents strongly expressed all three sentiments, meaning that around eleven million white Americans identify with the fundamental

United States Supreme Court decision, which ruled that the internment of Japanese citizens during World War II was constitutional, as precedent for the legal internment of the alt-right’s political enemies today. *Invictus*, 212-214.

²²⁷ Schiano, “Identity Evropa Struggles To Gain Footing After Rebranding as Patriot Group,” April 11, 2019.

²²⁸ Wendling, *Alt-Right: From 4chan to the White House*, 209.

²²⁹ Wendling, 223.

²³⁰ Hawley, “The Demography of the Alt-Right.”

aspects of alt-right ideology, even if they do not actively identify with the movement.²³¹ Hawley also indicates that when the respondents are broken down into age groups (Table 4), there is a “lack of an obvious age gap” in terms of which groups are likely to strongly express all three sentiments.²³² According to Hawley, this suggests that although the alt-right is not as young as it presents itself to be, “the problem of white identity politics is not something that will be resolved by generational replacement.”²³³ Despite the disintegration of groups like Identity Evropa, many white Americans are receptive to white identity politics, which means that the rise of white-nationalism remains a looming threat.

In fact, violence appears to be escalating as white-nationalists across the globe are forging connections with one another and building an international white-power movement. The March 15, 2019 attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, perpetrated by an Australian white-nationalist and extremist, took the lives of 50 Muslim worshippers at two mosques and “put the global nature of white extremism into relief.”²³⁴ Before the attack, the shooter published to his Facebook profile a manifesto titled “The Great Replacement” that established his anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim ideology.²³⁵ However, he also interspersed his manifesto with memes and internet

²³¹ Hawley.

²³² Hawley.

²³³ Hawley.

²³⁴ Weiyi Cai and Simone Landon, “Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections.,” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2019, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/03/world/white-extremist-terrorism-christchurch.html>.

²³⁵ The shooter also live-streamed his attack on Facebook. The video was viewed about 4,000 times before Facebook removed it. Aja Romano, “How the Christchurch Shooter Used Memes to Spread Hate,” *Vox*, March 16, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/culture/2019/3/16/18266930/christchurch-shooter-manifesto-memes-subscribe-to-pewdiepie>.

jokes; his goal was to confuse journalists and other readers about which parts were serious, while communicating his ideology to his intended global audience of white-nationalists.²³⁶

Following the Christchurch attack, the *New York Times* published a report on the transnational growth of white extremism. The reporters pinpointed the 2011 Norway bombings and the attacker's manifesto as a turning point, and they demonstrated how white extremist attacks in Europe, North America, and Australia have grown deadlier and more frequent since then.²³⁷ In a segment for National Public Radio (NPR), Kathleen Belew stressed the importance of abandoning "lone-wolf" rhetoric and recognizing that the perpetrators of seemingly disparate attacks, such as the anti-Muslim Christchurch shooting, the anti-Semitic Pittsburgh shooting, and the racist Charleston shooting, are all motivated by the same fundamental ideology.²³⁸

Because the Christchurch attacker's manifesto "demonstrated familiarity with far-right identitarianism,"²³⁹ the identitarian movement came under much closer media scrutiny after the attack. In fact, it was discovered that the attacker donated €1500 to Martin Sellner, the leader of

²³⁶ Romano.

²³⁷ Cai and Landon, "Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections."

²³⁸ "White Nationalist Groups Increase Recruiting And Propaganda Across The West," NPR.org, accessed April 6, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/03/19/704586335/white-nationalist-groups-increase-recruiting-and-propaganda-across-the-west>.

²³⁹ Tess Owen, "Austrian White Nationalist Accused of Ties to New Zealand Mosque Shooter Is Making Money off YouTube," *Vice News* (blog), March 29, 2019, https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/qvyykq/austrian-white-nationalist-accused-of-ties-to-new-zealand-mosque-shooter-is-making-money-off-youtube.

the Austrian Identity Movement.²⁴⁰ In the wake of the police investigation into Sellner, the *Guardian* reported on the connections between identitarian organizations in America, Australia, New Zealand, France, Italy, Austria, and most western European countries.²⁴¹ Just two weeks after the Christchurch attack, white-nationalists from around world, including at least two influential members of the American far-right, gathered in Finland for the second annual “Awakening” conference to discuss the formation of international coalitions.²⁴² It seems that the Christchurch attack has galvanized journalists to report on white-nationalism as the serious global threat it is.

Identity Evropa’s rebrand as the American Identity Movement in the wake of this increased public and scholarly awareness reveals Identity Evropa’s place within the network of global white-nationalism. Since the group was founded, its implicit premise has been the existence of a transnational white population, hence the focus on “European” identity in America. Identity Evropa, being very media-savvy, rebranded because it was aware of how dangerous its own construct of white, European identity could become.

²⁴⁰ Sellner himself previously recorded podcasts with James Allsup, who has connections to Identity Evropa. After the Christchurch attack, Sellner was put under police investigation. Owen, “Austrian White Nationalist Accused of Ties to New Zealand Mosque Shooter Is Making Money off YouTube.”

²⁴¹ Jason Wilson, “With Links to the Christchurch Attacker, What Is the Identitarian Movement?,” *The Guardian*, March 28, 2019, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/28/with-links-to-the-christchurch-attacker-what-is-the-identitarian-movement>.

²⁴² Tess Owen, “White Nationalists from around the World Are Meeting in Finland. Here’s What You Need to Know.,” *Vice News* (blog), April 4, 2019, https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/qvy7vx/heavyweights-from-the-white-nationalist-world-will-be-bonding-in-finland-this-weekend-heres-what-they-want.

As shown by chat messages in the Discord server, the question of rebranding Identity Evropa was discussed as early as October 2018,²⁴³ a date which directly contradicts Unicorn Riot's assertion that Identity Evropa rebranded solely because of the chat leaks. In a lengthy message thread, members argued for and against a rebrand. Some members mentioned keeping the name but using more patriotic symbolism, and others thought about changing just the logo and the color scheme. A few believed that the potential rewards of a rebrand would not outweigh the potential risks of losing name recognition and social capital. The most significant message, which predicts the eventual rebrand to the American Identity Movement, is reproduced here:

Identity Evropa, is [sic] pretty difficult to express exactly who we are and what we are about. Even an elevator pitch (~30) to someone about Identity Evropa leaves them with more questions than answers. "Europa... but this is America" "Why not american identity?" "What's with the triangle" "What's with the 'V'" People just don't *get it* [sic]. We should seek to be a mainstream movement. Having a familiar and normal name, color scheme and symbolism go a long way to normalizing our views. We have to move past the "Evropean Neitzchian [sic]/Faustian esoteric racist club" mindset.

Additionally, there are things we want to move away from. A new org [sic] would provide some distance from our founder (he's a great man who put his mark on the universe, and I think we all understand the nuance of his situation, but let's call it what it is) "A felon convicted of a hate crime who became aware of white Identity [sic] via a book by former KKK Grand Wizard David Duke"

That's not to mention comments by a [sic] one Eli Mosley, espousing literal exterminationist [sic] rhetoric and lying about his military record.

That's not to mention Charlottesville.

In summary, I think Identity Evropa sounds weird and decidedly foreign to an American ear. Additionally some of these really cursed associations will always plague Identity Evropa - perhaps less so with a new org [sic].²⁴⁴

²⁴³ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=137#message-1769181

²⁴⁴ https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=137#message-1769049

By writing that the name of the group “sounds weird and decidedly foreign to an American ear,” this member anticipates the connection that the media or average citizen might make between an American group called “Identity Evropa” and an international identitarian or white-nationalist movement. It seems that by October 2018, Identity Evropa realized that it would have to change its aesthetic completely if it wanted to keep recruiting members. The continued use of classical-looking statues, and their connection to Nathan Damigo, would not allow the group to break free from its “cursed associations.”

However, it was not until March 12, 2019, just four days after the Unicorn Riot leaks, that Identity Evropa suddenly rebranded. The Christchurch attack happened on March 15, the same day that the American Identity Movement published an official statement on its website asserting that it was indeed a “new” and “peaceful” organization.²⁴⁵ The group was not only concerned about moving away from the image of Nathan Damigo, but also removing any obvious ties between the group and the growing global network of identitarians and white-nationalists. Aside from the adoption of patriotic American imagery on the new posters, the change to the slogans is telling. None of the posters feature the possessive pronoun “our” or the personal pronoun “we,” a choice that downplays the idea of transnational white identity or heritage. The new propaganda is designed to be less inflammatory as the group shifts from espousing an international European identity to a national American one.

After Unite the Right in Charlottesville, Patrick Casey steered Identity Evropa away from associations with neo-Nazism, and now he is trying to abandon hardcore identitarianism and ethnonationalism for a more respectable patriotism and civic nationalism. The group’s decision to eschew European identity and the radical white, European heritage it entails shows how

²⁴⁵ “American Identity Movement Responds to Far-Left SPLC and Cohorts.”

dangerous they have rendered classical-looking imagery. Despite its rebrand, Identity Evropa must be viewed as part of an increasingly international network of white-nationalists. The group may not openly advocate for violence, but it operates within a network that does, and it still tries to affect policy and legislation by pushing its members into positions of power. Even though Identity Evropa has technically ceased to exist, white-nationalists and their ideology will continue to affect politics and campuses for the foreseeable future.

Chapter 1 has covered the history of Identity Evropa from its founding in 2016, under the leadership of Nathan Damigo, to its recent rebranding as the American Identity Movement in 2019, under the leadership of Patrick Casey. Since the inception of the organization, Identity Evropa leadership has obscured the group's primary long-term political goal, the creation of a white ethnostate, by subverting the language of identity politics in a way that appeals to disaffected young white men, the group's target demographic. While Damigo started the initiative to spread propaganda on college and university campuses, Casey expanded the group's activity to include the infiltration of politics at the local level and higher. Casey has also consistently downplayed the severity of the group's violent roots and its involvement in the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Chapter 2 has examined the #ProjectSiege propaganda poster campaign over the course of its three-year-long duration. The analysis of the original five posters identifies unifying themes in typography, layout, design, color, and sentiment. It also determines that the statues are indeed best described as "classical-looking." Art-historical superficiality notwithstanding, the posters are designed to evoke a glorified, fraternal vision of the past that is attractive to Identity Evropa's target demographic. The analysis demonstrates the similarities between the group's posters and the prologue to *Olympia I* by Leni Riefenstahl, emphasizing how Identity Evropa draws on a Nazi visual tradition of fabricating historical links between an imagined classical past and a desired reactionary future. The analysis also reveals that the posters were ultimately effective in increasing membership in Identity Evropa.

Chapter 3 has explained why Identity Evropa is still a dangerous group, despite its complete rebranding and abandonment of classical-looking imagery for patriotic Americana instead. Identity Evropa might find fruitful recruitment ground in classical studies departments,

since many members have described the classics as the means through which they developed a reactionary worldview. Identity Evropa's propaganda efforts may also dissuade students from studying the classics, which works to the group's benefit. As the youth arm of the alt-right movement, Identity Evropa prioritizes campuses in order to recruit educated young white men. The group encourages its members to use their education and connections to pursue positions of power in which they can influence policy and legislation. Identity Evropa is part of the growing network of white-nationalists around the world, and it cannot be separated from this global threat. Judging from the necessity of its planned rebranding as the American Identity Movement, the group knew how dangerous its original posters would become.

Overall, Identity Evropa's hate-filled internal dynamics have remained largely the same over the years, despite its best efforts to craft a respectable image of itself. The group, however, has managed to persist through several obstacles: the aftermath of the Unite the Right rally, the financial drain of the Charlottesville lawsuit, bans from social-media sites, the Unicorn Riot leaks of the Discord server, and the recent decline in membership. Although some say that Identity Evropa, now American Identity Movement, is finally disintegrating, the group could come back with a vengeance. What can students of archaeology, art history, and the classics who are concerned about the group do to counteract its harmful messaging?

The most basic action we could take is to remove any Identity Evropa or American Identity Movement posters that we find on our campuses. As infuriating as it may be to find them, do not post images of the posters on social media or tip off newspapers about them. Identity Evropa relies on such media exposure to increase the reach of its posters. Instead, quietly remove the posters and dispose of them. It would also be useful to report the incident to the SPLC and ADL, as well as any local anti-fascist groups.

A stronger but more long-term approach we could take is to advocate for the creation of new degree tracks that incorporate media studies into archaeology, art history, and the classics. Such degree tracks could offer credit for creative writing, studio art, film, performance, and visual studies courses, in addition to more traditional offerings. Courses clusters could include such topics as reception studies, pseudo-archaeology, archaeology and the classics in popular film and media, and so on. Areas of inquiry might include how archaeologists and classicists have historically been represented in media, or how they have used media to communicate their work to the public. Effective counteraction of Identity Evropa's egregious misunderstandings of the classical past can happen only if we are knowledgeable of how the classical past is being received and mediated outside of academia.

If we advocate for a greater emphasis on reception studies, media studies, and public scholarship within degree tracks for archaeology, art history, and the classics, we will be much better equipped to write about and visually present our subject to matter to public audiences. Although current public scholarship in archaeology, art history, and the classics seems confined mostly to blogs, it is becoming increasingly important for us to consider independent media production if we wish to connect with the public effectively and authentically. In order to keep up with the alt-right media machine, we will have to increase engagement drastically on YouTube and in podcasts. Producing cultural works, in the form of fiction, creative nonfiction, art, and film, could also help expose the public to the classical past in meaningful and entertaining ways. Those of us who cannot produce our own independent media should find ways to support artists who are updating, reimagining, and reclaiming the classical past for audiences today.

Of course, such changes would not stop neo-Nazis and white-nationalists from co-opting the classical past; rather, the key to our public engagement would be to reach people who might otherwise be receptive to those co-options and provide them with a better alternative, starving the alt-right of its audience. We must, however, acknowledge that no matter our intentions, classical material can be ideologically slippery, and we must strive to create media that does not inadvertently perpetuate the undue glorification of classical cultures. If we can draw critical attention to continuities of oppression between the classical past and the present, then we can channel our moral outrage into a productive force for good. The longer we wait to do so, the more opportunity the alt-right has to transform abstract fears into real acts of violence.

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Assemblywomen

Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (Greek: Ἐκκλησιαζούσαι *Ekklesiazousai*; translated as *Assemblywomen*, *Congresswomen*, *Women in Parliament*, *Women in Power*, and *A Parliament of Women*) is a play dating from 391 BC^[1] which is similar in theme to *Lysistrata* in that a large portion of the comedy comes from women involving themselves in politics. This play is much more infused with gender issues than *Lysistrata* is.

^ Plot *Already our ancestors thousands of years ago knew what happens when women are given voting rights and are allowed into parliaments.*

The play concerns a group of women, the leader of which is Praxagora. She has decided that the women must convince the men to give them control of Athens, because they could rule it better than the men have been. The women, in the guise of men, sneak into the assembly and vote the measure, convincing some of the men to vote for it because it is the only thing they have not tried.

The women then institute a communist-like government in which the state feeds, houses, and generally takes care of every Athenian. They enforce an idea of equality by allowing each man to sleep with any woman, provided that he sleeps with every woman in Athens who is uglier first. *Enforced anti fat shaming. Promotion of single moms supported by the welfare state.*

Private property is abolished and all money and property are to go into a common fund. All expenses and purchases by each individual are to come out of the common fund. Any individual with personal property is considered to have stolen from the community. *Evil rich men! Down with the patriarchy! Total gender equality!*

^ Background

This play portrays views of women common at the time.^[2] Among other things, Aristophanes pokes fun of them as being lazy, drinking excessively and making their husbands' lives into living hell.

The enforced equality is also something of a political statement in addition to being a social one.

The plot presents and makes fun of the ideas of abolition of private property, abolition of the family and purely material prosperity.^[3]

Figure 1: Annotated screenshot of the "Assemblywomen" entry posted by user Steve-NJ to the Identity Evropa chat server

Source: https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/channel/316?per_page=250&page=46#message-1814470

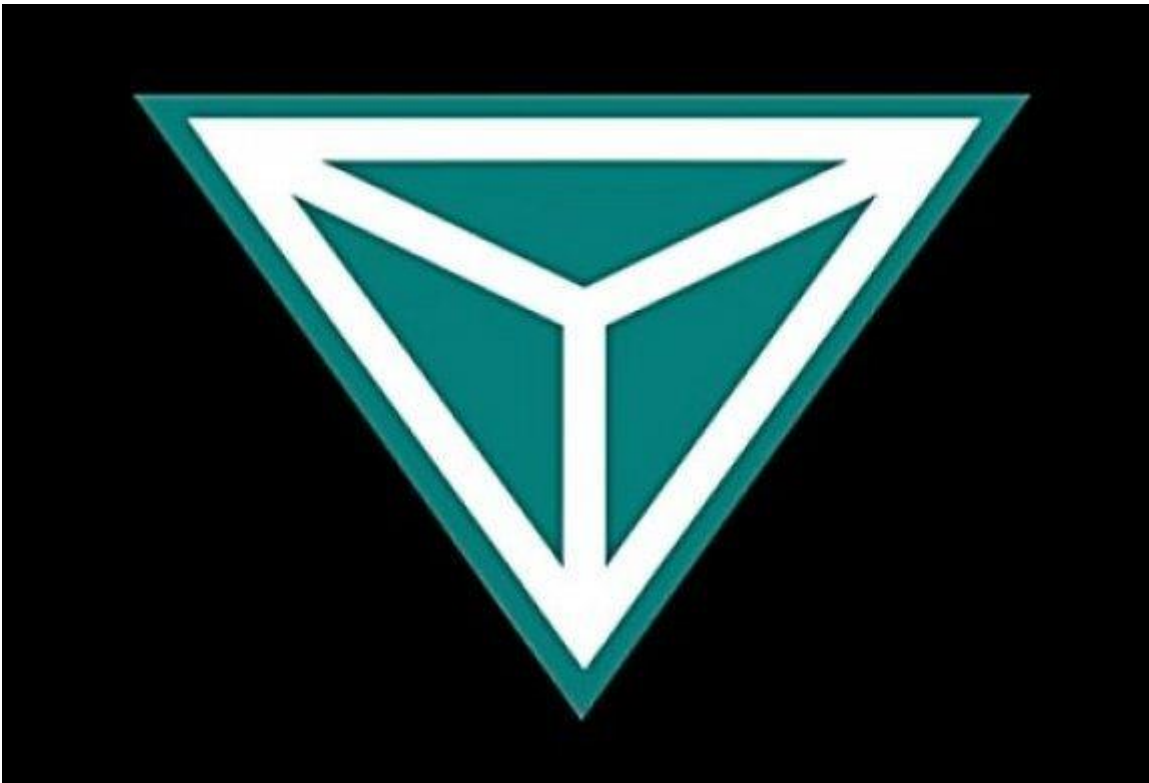


Figure 2: Identity Evropa's logo, a white and teal "dragon's eye," on black background
Source: "Identity Evropa," Anti-Defamation League, accessed May 11, 2019, <https://www.adl.org/resources/profiles/identity-evropa>.



Figure 3: Identity Evropa poster featuring Michelangelo's David and the slogan "Let's Become Great Again"

Source: Ben Davis, "White Nationalism's New Love of Art History, Decoded," *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.

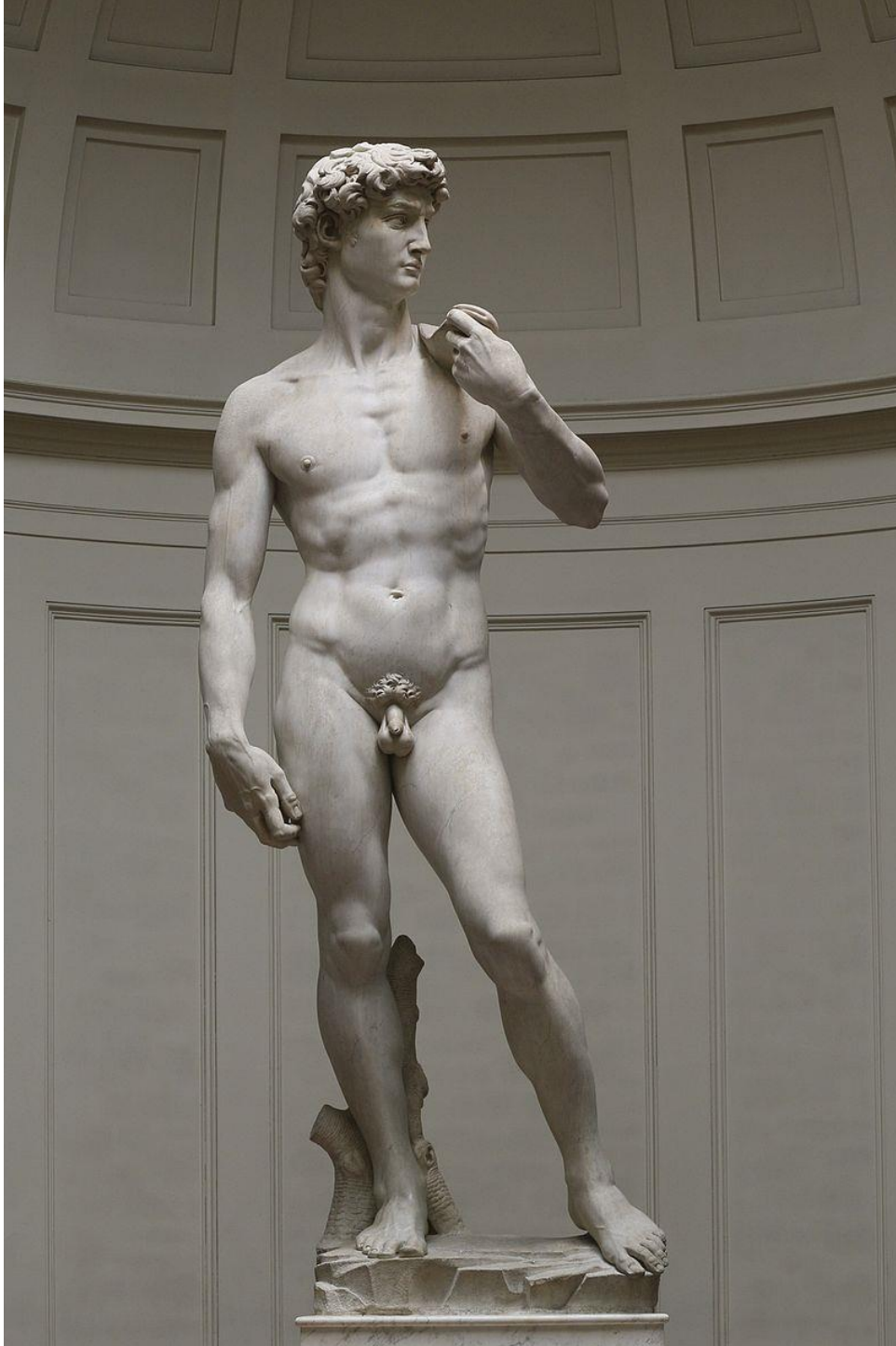


Figure 4: Statue of David by Michelangelo. Marble. 1501-1504. Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze, 1076.

Source: Jörg Bittner Unna, *David by Michelangelo, Florence, Galleria Dell'Accademia, 1501-1504*, July 28, 2016,

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%27David%27_by_Michelangelo_Fir_JBU002.jpg#/media/File:%27David%27_by_Michelangelo_Fir_JBU002.jpg.



Figure 5: Identity Evropa poster featuring the Belvedere Apollo and the slogan “Our Future Belongs to Us”

Source: Ben Davis, “White Nationalism’s New Love of Art History, Decoded,” *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.



Figure 6: Belvedere Apollo. Marble. Early second century CE. Vatican, Pio-Clementino Museum 1015. Source: "Belvedere Apollo," Vatican Museums, accessed April 16, 2019, <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-pio-clementino/Cortile-Ottagono/apollo-del-belvedere.html>.

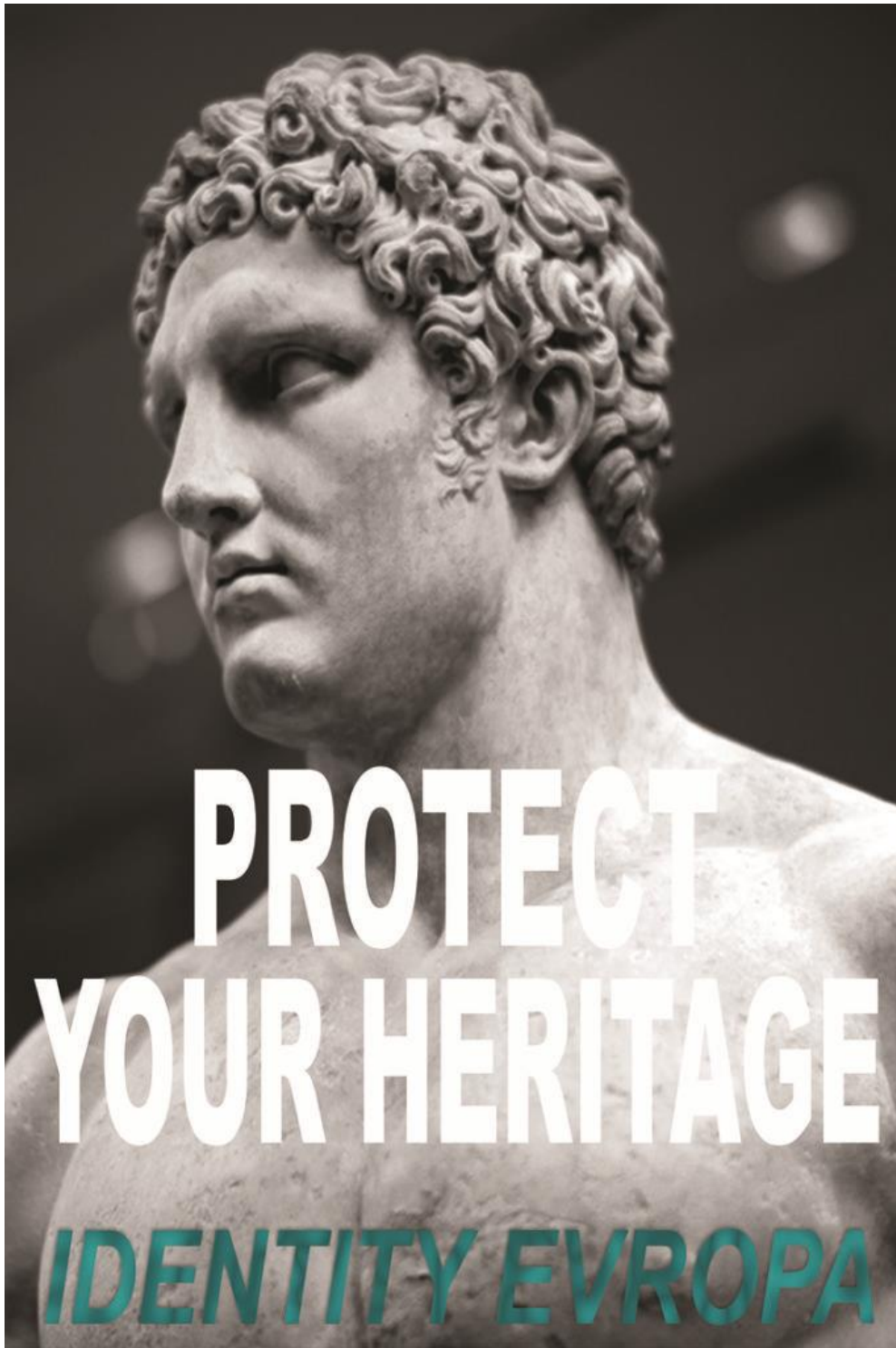


Figure 7: Identity Evropa poster featuring Youthful Hercules and the slogan “Protect Your Heritage”

Source: Ben Davis, “White Nationalism’s New Love of Art History, Decoded,” *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.



Figure 8: Statue of Youthful Hercules. Marble. 69-96 CE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 03.12.13.

Source: "Marble Statue of a Youthful Hercules," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, accessed April 16, 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247000>.

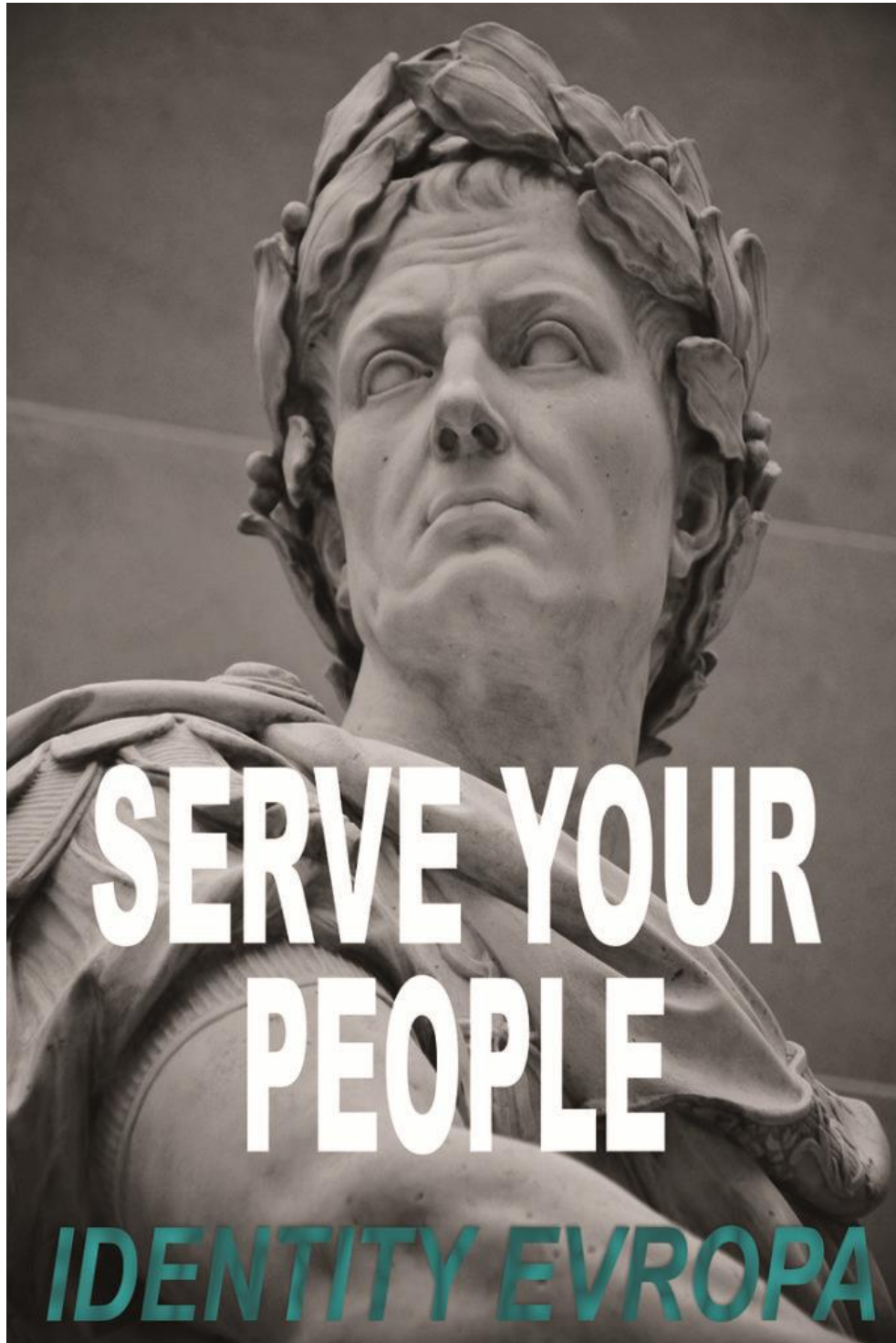


Figure 9: Identity Evropa poster featuring the Coustou Caesar and the slogan “Serve Your People”

Source: Ben Davis, “White Nationalism’s New Love of Art History, Decoded,” *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.



Figure 10: Statue of Julius Caesar by Nicolas Coustou. Marble. 1696-1713. Paris, Louvre 1798.

Source: Nicolas Coustou, "Julius Caesar. Commissioned in 1696 for the Gardens of Versailles, to Go with the Annibal by Sébastien Slodtz," Louvre Museum, accessed April 16, 2019,

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Julius_Caesar_Coustou_Louvre_MR1798.jpg#/media/File:Julius_Caesar_Coustou_Louvre_MR1798.jpg.

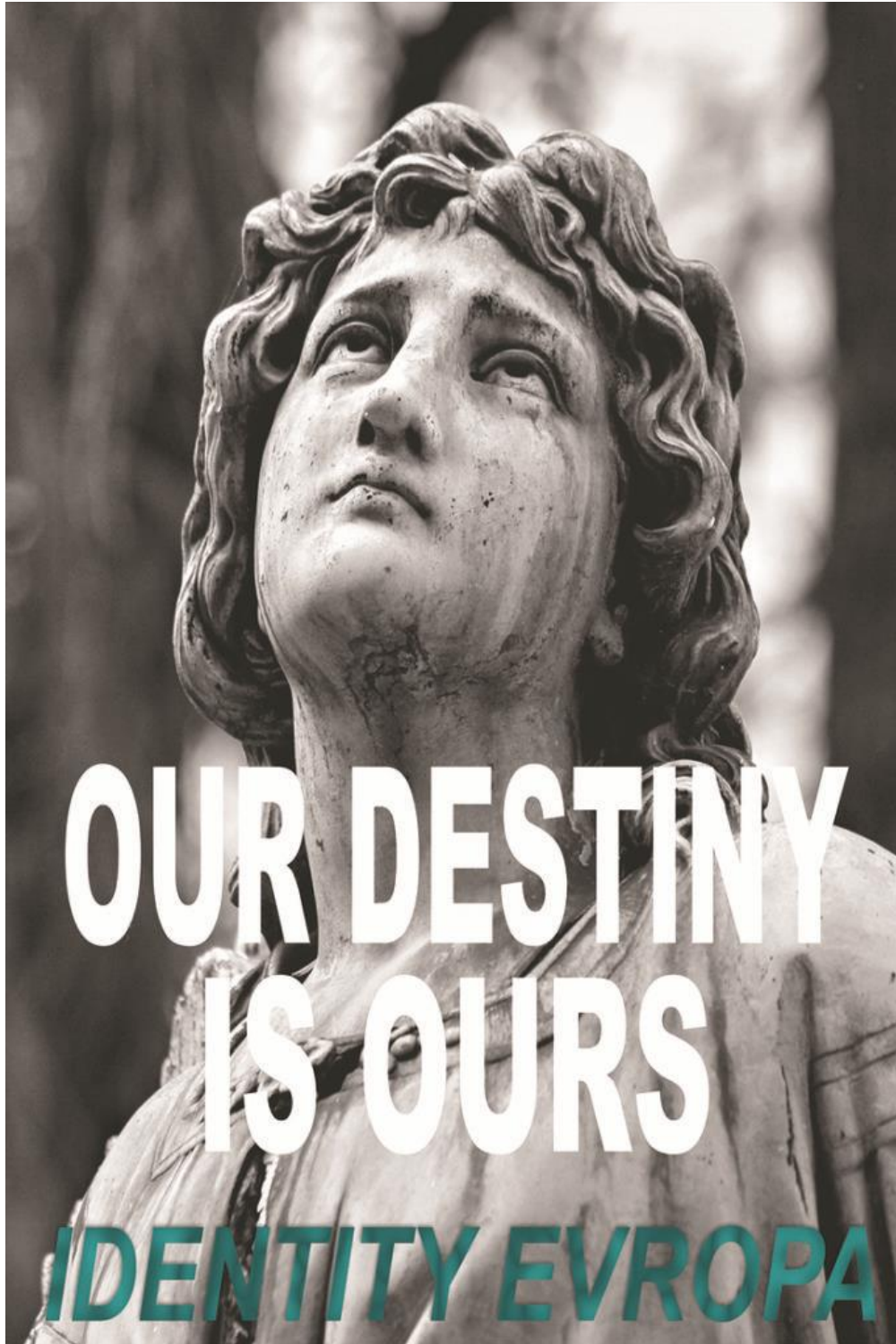


Figure 11: Identity Evropa poster featuring an angel from the Saarlouis Cemetery and the slogan “Our Destiny is Ours”

Source: Ben Davis, “White Nationalism’s New Love of Art History, Decoded,” *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.



Figure 12: Funerary sculpture of an angel. Bronze. Date unknown. Saarlouis, Old Cemetery.

Source: *LoKiLeCh, Saarlouis Alter Friedhof Engel, November 5, 2011, Own work,*

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saarlouis_Alter_Friedhof_Engel.jpg.

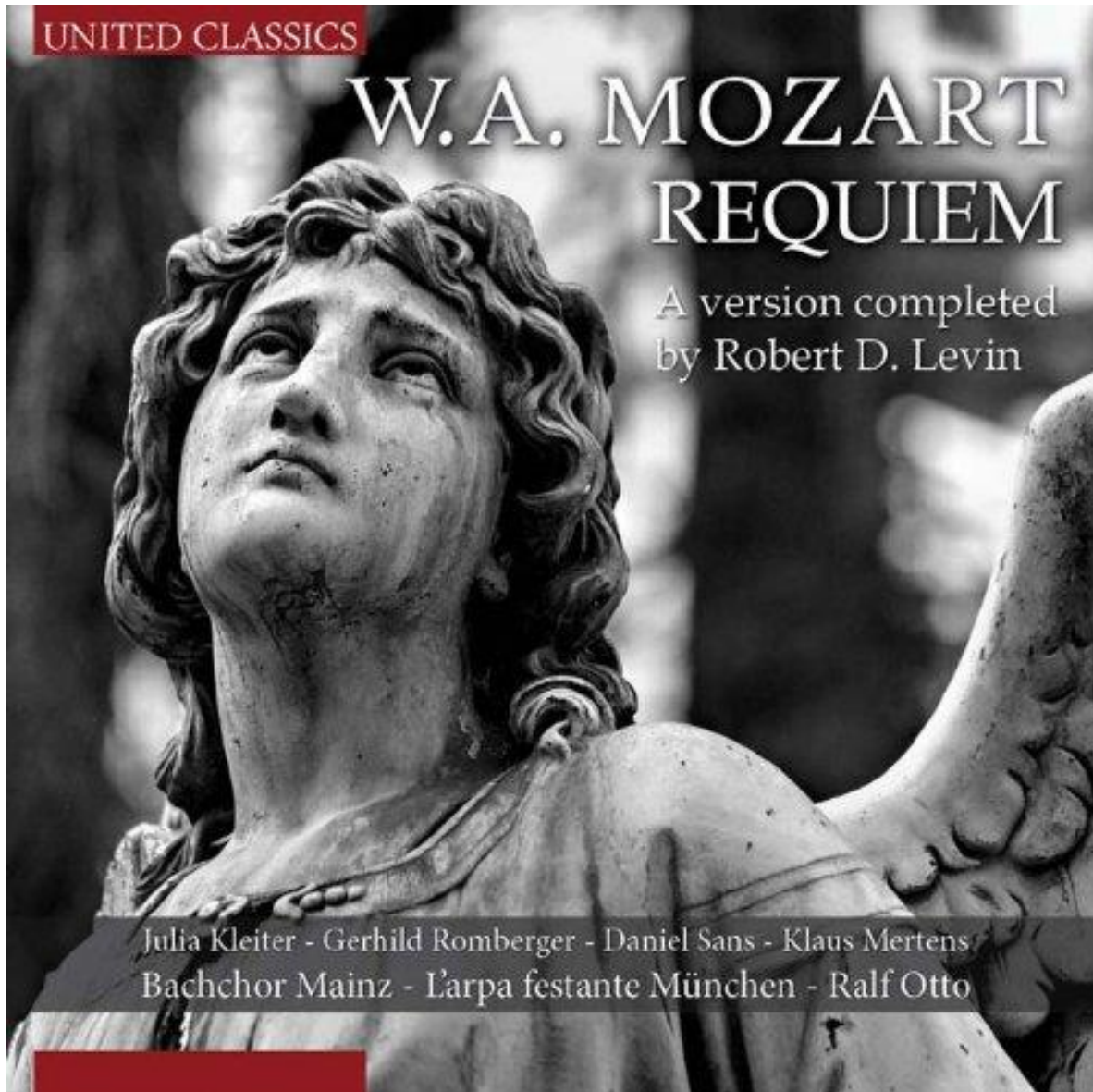


Figure 13: CD cover of the United Classics edition of Mozart's Requiem, which features the Saarlouis angel
Source: Ben Davis, "White Nationalism's New Love of Art History, Decoded," *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.



Figure 14: the “high and tight” hairstyle, co-opted by the alt-right as the “fashy haircut.” The rapper Macklemore, left; white-nationalist Richard Spencer, center; and soccer player David Beckham, right.
 Source: Monica Hesse and Dan Zak, “Does This Haircut Make Me Look like a Nazi,” *Washington Post*, November 30, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2016/11/30/does-this-haircut-make-me-look-like-a-nazi/?utm_term=.488b11767149.



Figure 15: the opening title slide of *Olympia I*, featuring “OLYMPIA” in letter forms that suggest ancient Roman inscriptions
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 16: a three-quarters view of the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 17: one of the nude female statues featured in the sculptural montage
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 18: a close-up of the Barberini Faun, whose expression is serious and sensual. Munich, Glyptothek 218
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 19: a close-up of the Medusa Rondanini. Munich, Glyptothek 252.
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 20: a close-up of Alexander the Great's head, set against the Acropolis in the background. Athens, Acropolis Museum 1331.
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 21: the Lancellotti Discobolus, before its transformation into a living man. Munich, Glyptothek.
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 22: Erwin Huber, the German decathlon champion, posing as the Lancellotti Discobolus
 Source: Leni Riefenstahl, *Fest der Völker*, Documentary (Excelsior Pictures Corp., 1938), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILnGqMoNXRI>.



Figure 23: Adolf Hitler posing in 1938 with the newly purchased Lancellotti Discobolus at the Munich Glyptothek
Source: Ben Davis, "White Nationalism's New Love of Art History, Decoded," *artnet News*, March 7, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/identity-evropa-posters-art-symbolism-881747>.



Figure 24: American Identity Movement poster featuring the group's name and logo, emblazoned in red, white, and blue on an eagle with outstretched wings

Source: https://twitter.com/AIM_America/status/1124406358542049282



Figure 25: American Identity Movement poster featuring an eagle perched on the American flag and the slogan “Nationalism Not Globalism”

Source: https://twitter.com/AIM_America/status/1124406358542049282

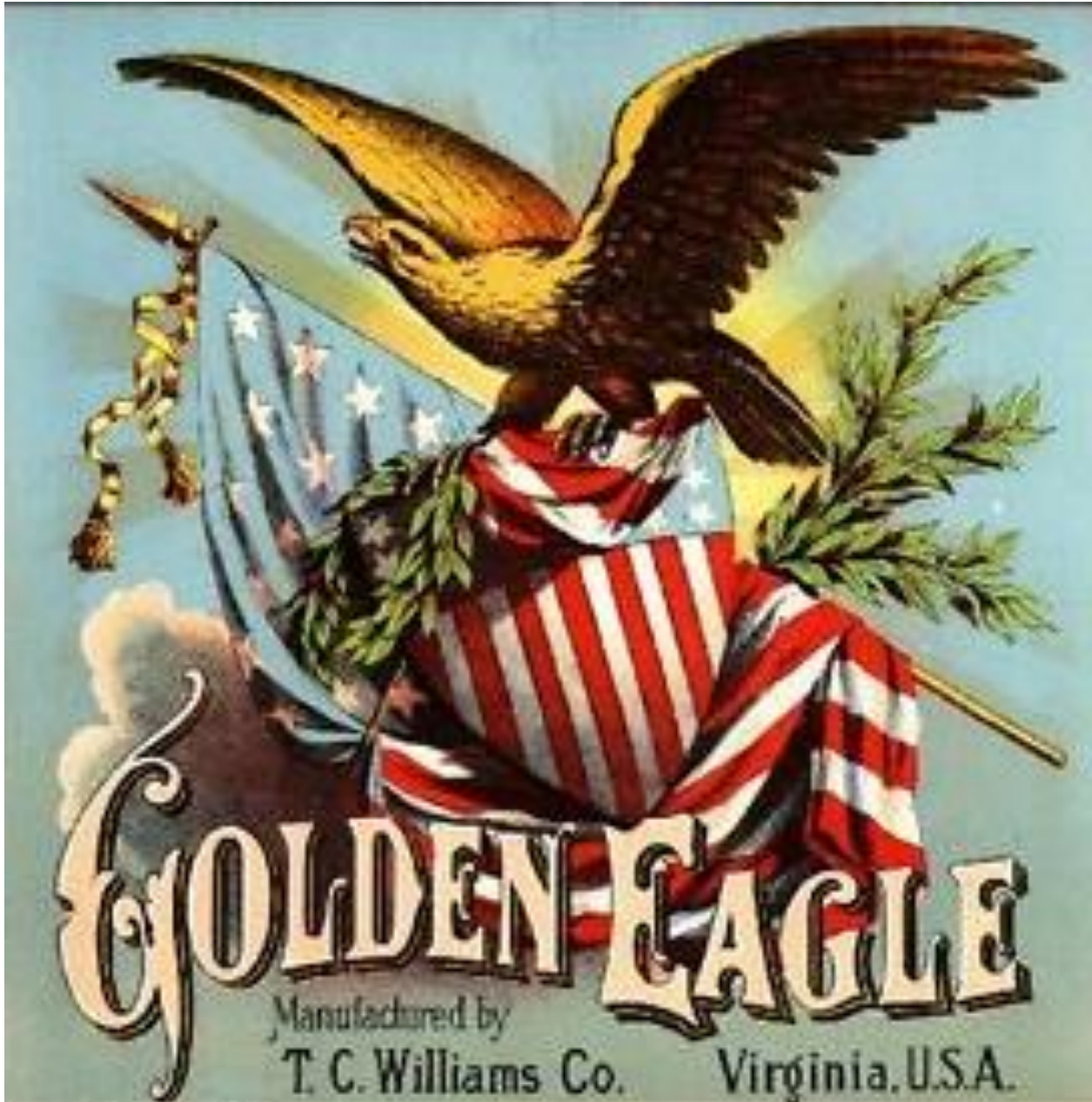


Figure 26: reproduction print of an early twentieth century “Golden Eagle” tobacco label
Source: “Petersburg, Virginia Golden Eagle Tobacco Crate Box Label Art Poster Print,” eBay, accessed May 11, 2019, <https://www.ebay.com/itm/Petersburg-Virginia-Golden-Eagle-Tobacco-Crate-Box-Label-Art-Poster-Print-/162231170941>.



Figure 27: American Identity Movement poster featuring Columbia, holding a sword and an American flag while standing atop the United States, and the slogan “Defend America”

Source: https://twitter.com/AIM_America/status/1121194163205234688



Figure 28: WWI-era Army recruiting poster, circa 1916. Designed by Frances Adams Halsted, painted by Vincent Aderente

Source: "WWI Army Recruiting Poster - 'Columbia Calls - Enlist Now for U. S Army,'" Heritage Auctions, accessed May 11, 2019, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/military-and-patriotic/wwi/wwi-army-recruiting-poster-columbia-calls-enlist-now-for-u-s-army-/a/672-25227.s>.



Figure 29: American Identity Movement poster featuring a destroyed house, an abandoned car, and the slogan “Diversity Destroys Nations”

Source: https://twitter.com/AIM_America/status/1125852540015448064



Figure 30: Flood Disaster (Homecoming – Kaw Valley) by Thomas Hart Benton, circa 1951. Oil and tempera on canvas mounted on plywood. Auctioned by Sotheby's on May 19, 2011.

Source: "Thomas Hart Benton, 1889-1975," Sotheby's, May 19, 2011, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/american-paintings-n08751/lot.7.html>.



Figure 31: American Identity Movement poster featuring Columbia, arms outstretched and wearing the Phrygian cap, and the slogan “Embrace Your Identity”

Source: https://twitter.com/AIM_America/status/1125852540015448064



Figure 32: WWI-era Army recruitment poster, circa 1917. Painted by Paul Stahr.
Source: "Vintage Patriotic Poster," *Free Vintage Art*, June 12, 2013,
<http://www.freevintageart.com/vintage-patriotic-poster>.

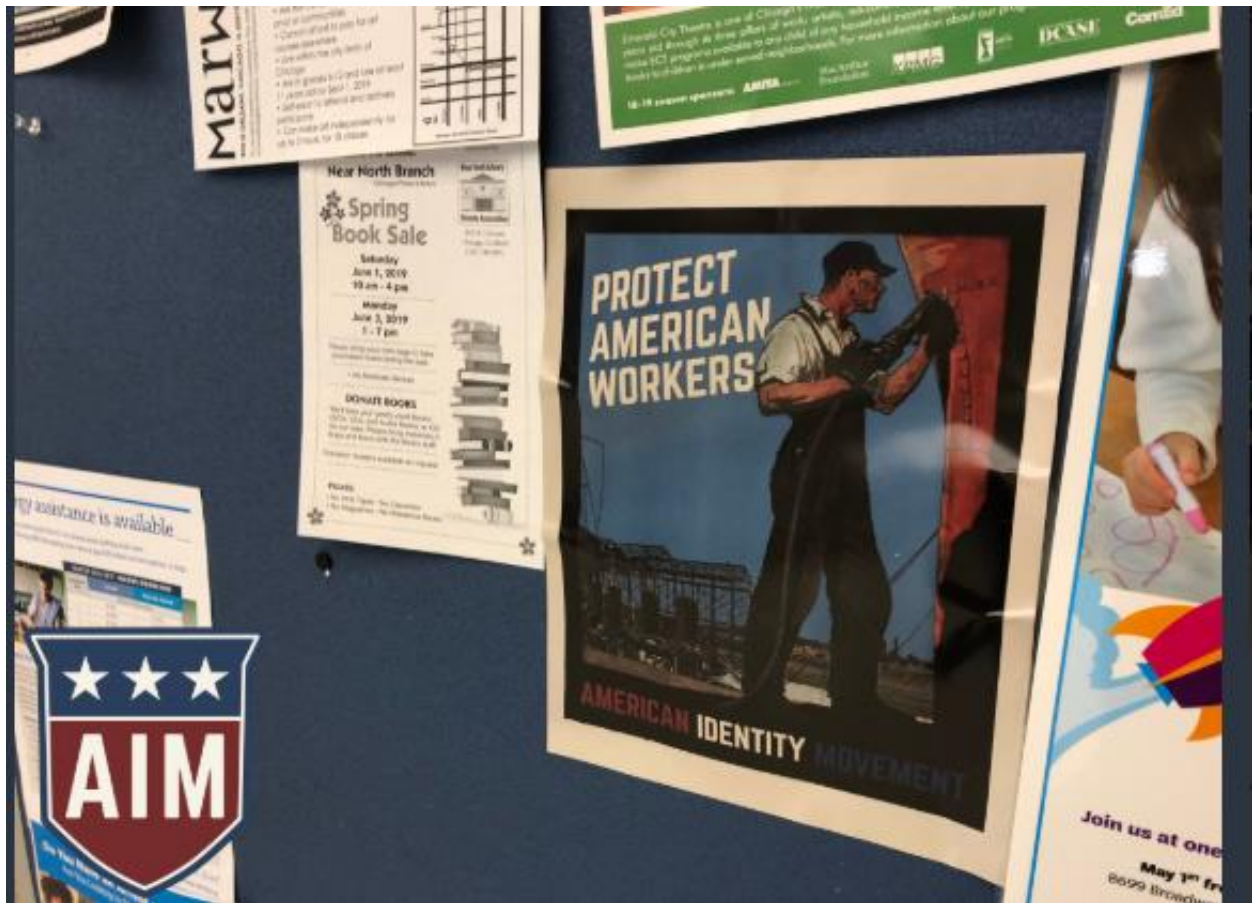


Figure 33: American Identity Movement poster featuring a worker drilling a ship and the slogan “Protect American Workers”

Source: https://twitter.com/AIM_America/status/1121194163205234688



Figure 34: WWI-era home front poster, circa 1917. Painted by Adolph Treidler. Issued by the New York Shipbuilding Corporation.

Source: "WWI Home Front Poster: 'Ships Will Win the War: Help Build Them,'" *Heritage Auctions*, accessed May 11, 2019, <https://historical.ha.com/itm/military-and-patriotic/wwi/wwi-home-front-poster-ships-will-win-the-war-help-build-them-/a/6034-52339.s>.

Bachelor's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions, by sex and race							
Academic Year	Total	Male	Percent Male	Female	Percent Female	POC	Percent POC
2015-2016	1,920,750	821,746	42.8%	1,099,004	57.2%	723,427	37.7%
2016-2017	1,956,032	836,045	42.7%	1,119,987	57.3%	760,025	38.9%
2026-2027	2,082,000	875,000	42.0%	1,207,000	58.0%	-	-

Table 1: this table shows the number of bachelor's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions in recent academic years, as well as a prediction for 2026-2027, by sex and race. POC refers to Black, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, Amerindian, Alaska Native, biracial/multiracial, and nonresident alien students.

Source: Adapted by author from National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) data.

https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_322.40.asp?current=yes;

https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_322.50.asp?current=yes;

[https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16_318.10.asp.](https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16_318.10.asp)

Bachelor's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions in academic year 2016-2017, by sex and race							
Degree type	Total	Males	Percent Male	Females	Percent Female	POC	Percent POC
Area, ethnic, cultural, gender, and group studies	7,720	2,114	27.4%	5,606	72.6%	4,549	58.9%
Liberal arts and sciences, general studies, humanities	43,841	15,999	36.5%	27,842	63.5%	16,722	38.1%
Philosophy and religious studies	9,712	6,008	61.9%	3,704	38.1%	3,257	33.5%
Social sciences	135,041	65,262	48.3%	69,779	51.7%	62,440	46.2%
History	24,058	14,306	59.5%	9,752	40.5%	6,272	26.1%

Table 2: this table shows the number of bachelor's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions in academic year 2016-2017, by sex and race. POC refers to Black, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, Amerindian, Alaska Native, biracial/multiracial, and nonresident alien students.

Source: Adapted by author from National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) data.

https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_322.40.asp?current=yes;

https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_322.50.asp?current=yes.

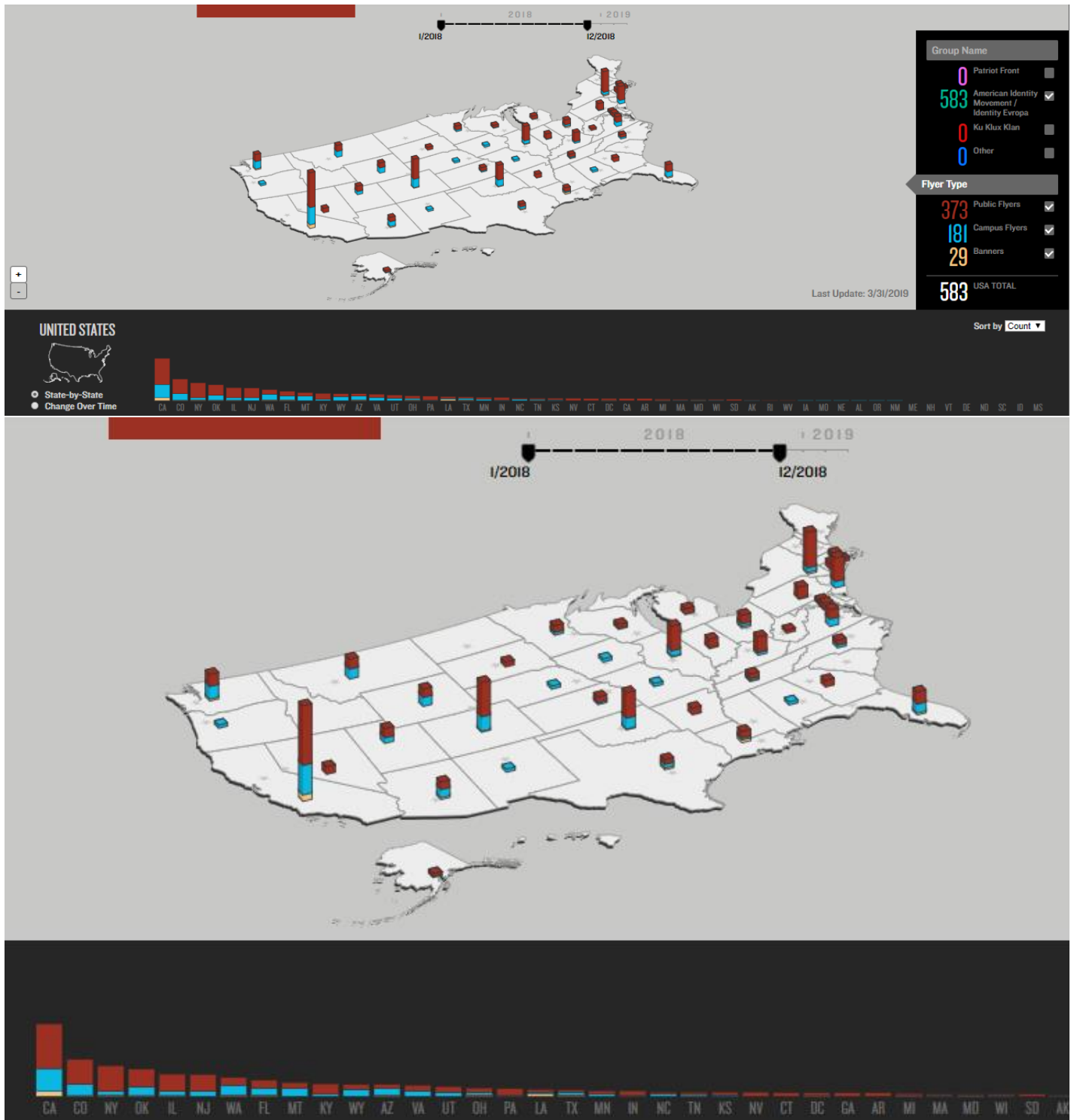


Table 3: Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) online map documenting white supremacist propaganda incidents by Identity Evropa, by state, in calendar year 2018
 Source: Adapted from “Map of White Supremacist Flying in the U.S.,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed May 5, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/flying-map>.

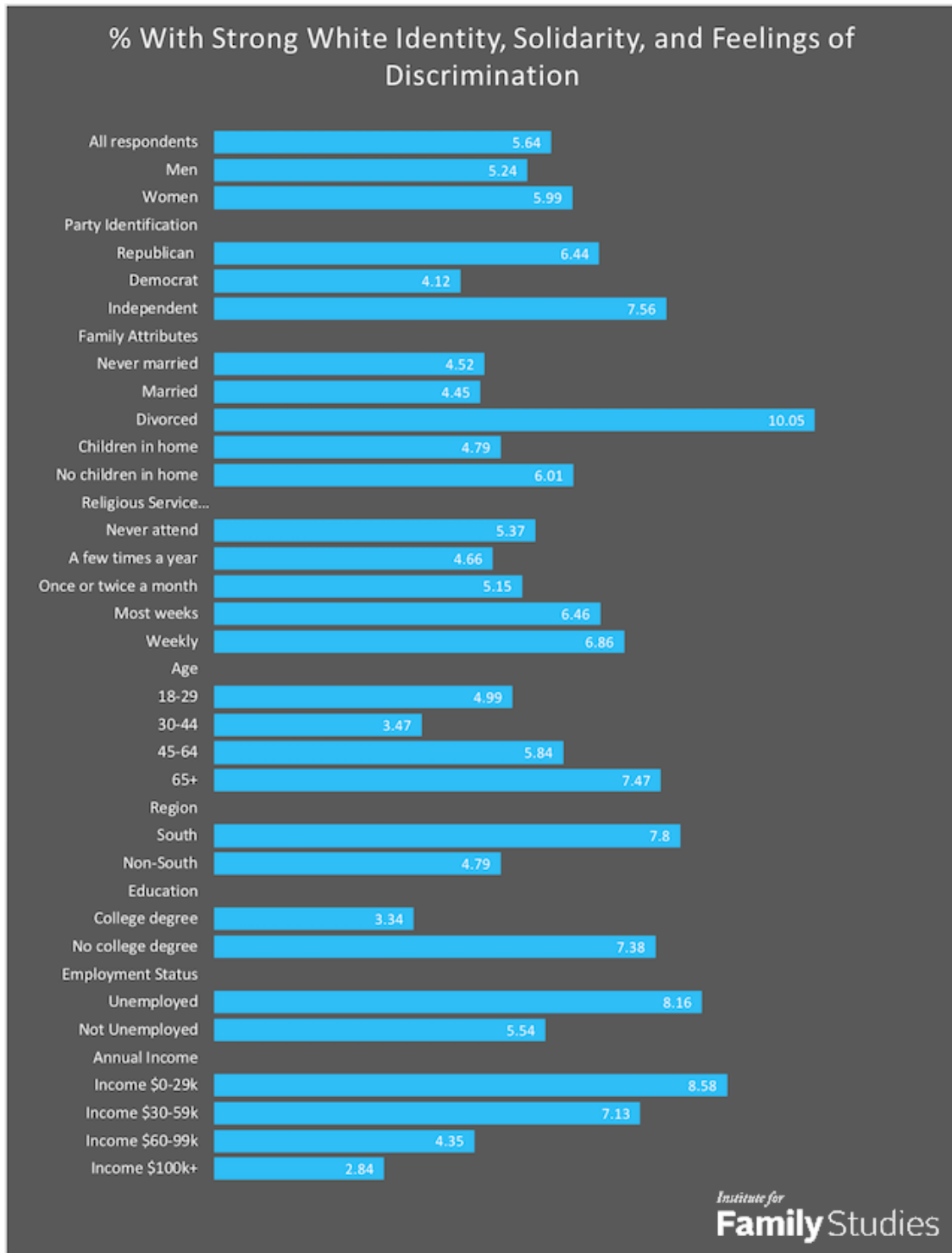


Table 4: graph that breaks down the percentages of white respondents who agreed with all three elements of white identity politics by demographic variables
 Source: George Hawley, "The Demography of the Alt-Right," *Institute for Family Studies*, August 9, 2018, <https://ifstudies.org/blog/the-demography-of-the-alt-right>.